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William Horatio Cuyler

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William Horatio Crawford

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F

L E W I S XI.
K I N G of F R A N C E.

In which is comprehended
A GENERAL VIEW of the Affairs of EUROPE
during the XVth Century; and a clear Account of the
true Causes of those Disputes which have occasioned
most of the Long and Bloody WARS that have hap-
pened since.

Wherein also are contained
Many CURIOUS PARTICULARS relating to our
OWN HISTORY, omitted or partially related by our
Authors, in Reference to the Contest between the
Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; the Revolt of the
Switzers, the Rise of the Family of *Medicis*, and the
Marriage of the Heiress of *Burgundy* into the House of
Austria, which occasioned originally that Quarrel which
is the Chief Ground of the Present WAR.

Interspersed throughout
With the most LIVELY and IMPARTIAL CHA-
RACTERS of the Persons mentioned therein, disclosing
the Secret Springs of many Important Events, and af-
fording a most admirable Picture of the Condition of a
Great Kingdom, when governed by a Designing
PRINCE, whose POLICY is no other than a Compleat
System of CORRUPTION.

By M. DUCLOS,
Of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.
Faithfully translated from the FRENCH ORIGINAL,
which was Suppressed at *Paris*.

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THE HISTORY OF LEWIS XI.

BOOK VI.

Although by the treaty of Peronne, all imaginable precautions had been taken to terminate the differences between the king and the duke of Burgundy, and to provide against such as might afterwards arise, yet it was hardly possible that peace should subsist long between these two princes. They hated one another personally, and lived in perpetual jealousies and distrust, strangers to that esteem, which, without destroying rivalry, still leaves room for sentiments of generosity. A fair representation is often sufficient to adjust and settle the most opposite interests, but peace is incompatible with passion. These princes so well knew how little they could depend upon treaties; that if we except those of Conflans and Peronne, which were in reality forced, they never cared to proceed any farther than truces, which decided nothing, and by giving them time to breathe, served only to make their hatred break out afterwards with greater violence. Many other obstacles of a different nature, and which depended not upon themselves, contributed also to keep them at variance. The English were still in hopes of recovering one day

what they had lost in France, and left no means untried to draw off the allies of that crown. The duke of Britany was continually employed in contriving to raise up enemies against the king, that he might hinder him from turning his thoughts towards Britany. And the duke of Guyenne, notwithstanding the promise he had made, still flattered himself with the hope of marrying the heiress of Burgundy, and at this very time was courting duke Charles's friendship; he even wrote him a short note, which contained these words, *endeavour what you can to content your subjects, don't be uneasy, for you will find friends enow.* The designs of the princes were publick and open, but there were many particular interests unknown, and therefore the more dangerous. The constable was afraid that a peace would diminish his credit and pensions, which were very considerable. He received yearly thirty thousand livres, besides the salary of his office, and had four hundred men at arms paid every muster, without either comptroller or inspector. All that had companies of ordinance, were of the same sentiments with the constable, and dreaded a reform of the troops. And even such as had neither places nor pensions, were yet willing to keep the king employed abroad, lest his natural restlessness of temper should put him upon making alterations at home. In a word, they all conspired to make the king subservient to their particular views, but were at the same time very careful to conceal their real designs. The most absolute princes are thereby but the more exposed to seduction; they often obey foreign impressions without knowing it, and are sometimes persuaded to regard, as their own, the measures that have been suggested to them by others.

The constable deceived both the king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to make them subservient to a design he had long formed, of rendering himself

himself independent. It was his study to keep up a mutual jealousy between them. Sometimes he wrote to the duke, that the number of malecontents increased daily in France, and that by giving his daughter in marriage to the duke of Guyenne, he would soon be in condition to give law to the kingdom. At other times he endeavoured to persuade the king that Flanders and Brabant were ripe for an insurrection, and gave him hopes of being in a very short time master of St. Quintin. We shall see by what means he surprized that place; yet did he not, according to his promise, restore it to the king. He at last drew upon himself the hatred of the two princes, and his designs against the state proved fatal only to himself. Lewis, who never declared against his enemies, till after using all probable methods to draw them to his alliance, *January.* sent the collar of the order of St. Michael to the duke of Britany; but the duke declined it. However, fearing to be charged with having justly irritated the king by such an affront, he sent him word, that upon examining the statutes of the order, he found some articles, which permitted not his accepting of the proffered honour: as that he could belong to no other order, nor by consequence institute one himself; adding, that as he was a sovereign prince, he could not bring himself under the same engagements with an ordinary knight.

The king was highly offended at the duke's refusal; he assembled the ban and arriere-ban of the provinces of Normandy, Poitou, Angoumois, Rovergue, and Limousin, and made all the necessary preparations as if he intended to attack Britany; though in reality he had no other design than to make a display of his forces to the ambassadors of the duke, who were then at Angers.

The duke of Britany immediately armed, as did the duke of Burgundy, and every thing threatened

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an approaching war; yet all these preparations ended soon after in a treaty signed at Angers, which was indeed no more than a ratification of that of Ancenis. But what was most remarkable on this occasion, the dukes of Burgundy and Britany renewed also the treaty of Estempes, made in the year 1465, though directly contrary to that which they had but just concluded at Angers.

During these negotiations, the young viscount de Rohan, afterwards the marshal de Gié, came and made an offer of his service to the king. It is probable, that du Chatel, who had been guardian to the viscount, brought him to the court of France. He went out to meet him as far as Tours, with a retinue of two hundred gentlemen. The king too, upon hearing of his coming, advanced part of the way, and received him with all possible marks of esteem and friendship. Shortly after he presented him with lands and pensions, and gave him hopes of arriving one day at the dignity of constable, if he was pleased with his services; nay, he even promised to make him duke of Britany, if the present duke should die childless. This was enough to engage effectually in his interest an ambitious aspiring youth, of great courage and distinguished birth. The duke of Britany was greatly mortified at the viscount's retreat; he left nothing untried to bring him back, and finding all his attempts fruitless, had informations brought against those who were suspected of being privy to his escape. The king having thus concluded a treaty with the dukes of Britany and Burgundy, thought of nothing now, but how to soment the troubles in England.

A rebellion breaking out in the northern counties, Edward sent William and Richard Herbert, at the head of two thousand Welsh, to quell the revolvers. The fight was bloody, and the victory long doubtful; but at length Herbert's troops were all cut to pieces.

pieces. The battle of Banbury was still more fatal ; fir Richard and his brother were both made prisoners, and their heads ordered to be struck off. The malecontents marched next towards Grafton, whither the earl of Rivers and his son John Woodville had retired. The inhabitants, terrified at their approach, delivered up the two unhappy Noblemen, who were immediately conducted to Northampton, and beheaded without any form of law. Warwick, who waited at Calais the proper season of declaring against Edward, was soon informed of the success of the revolvers, and seized that opportunity of putting himself at their head.

Edward in despair at the defeat of his troops, and the cruel fate of his father-in-law, levied some forces in haste, and advanced with great fury to chastise the rebels. But his prudence on this occasion was not answerable to his valour ; neither order nor discipline were observed in the army ; he even neglected the usual precautions for the defence of his camp ; infomuch, that the archbishop of York, at the head of a choice detachment, penetrated, under favour of night, to the king's tent, and hastily waking him, ordered him to rise, and come along with him to the earl of Warwick. Edward was obliged to submit, uncertain as yet what fate was preparing for him. The earl treated him with all the honours due to royal majesty, but caused him to be conducted to Warwick, and thence to Middleham castle in Yorkshire.

As soon as the duke of Burgundy was informed of what had been transacted in England, he wrote to the mayor and people of London, that, by virtue of his marriage with Edward's sister, he was engaged in alliance both with him and them ; that he could therefore acknowledge no other king but Edward, and was resolved to aid him with all his forces. The mayor immediately assembled the citizens, and

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imparted to them the letters he had received from the duke of Burgundy; upon which they unanimously cried out, that they were resolved to continue faithful to the king. Warwick, apprised of the disposition of the Metropolis, was one of the first in advising Edward to repair to London. He even went thither himself, and, to gain the goodwill of the people, declared loudly, that his aim was not against the king, but the errors and abuses in the government, of which, to add weight to his speech, he drew a very lively and striking picture.

Some writers tell us, that * Edward made his escape unknown to the earl of Warwick, and that this last not being able to prevent it, pretended it was done by concert. Be that as it will, we see here, by a very strange revolution, and more frequent

* The English historians relate Edward's escape somewhat differently from our author. He was confined in Middleham castle, under custody of the archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, and behaved so obligingly to that prelate, that he had leave, with a small guard, to hunt now and then in the park. Having gained this first point, he bribed one of his guards to deliver a letter to two gentlemen of the neighbourhood, wherein he pointed out to them what course they should take to free him. The gentlemen, glad of an opportunity of serving the king, assembled some of their friends, and lying in ambush near the park, easily carried him off. Edward now at liberty, made haste to London, which Warwick, little expecting such a turn, had neglected to secure. But as both were without forces, they could not presently decide the quarrel. Mean time some peaceable lords interposed, and so ordered it, that the matter was brought to a conference, which, instead of having the desired effect, was wholly spent in mutual reproaches. Presently after the interview, both parties prepared for war. The earl of Warwick commissioned sir Robert Wells, son of the lord Wells, to levy troops in Lincolnshire, while himself, with the duke of Clarence, were raising men in other counties.

quent in England than in any other part of the world, the two heads of a civil war unite in the capital, and seemingly pursue the same measures. Edward was sensible, that he could not safely undertake any thing against a man, who owed his rank, and the consideration in which he was held, to his own merit; and did not, like the generality of courtiers, borrow all his lustre from the smiles of power. On the other hand Warwick perceived, that it was dangerous to appear dissatisfied with a king who had the hearts of his subjects, and of whom (to use the expression) the people had declared themselves the protectors. The continual fear in which these two rivals lived of each other, served but to increase their hatred.

England enjoyed at this time only a seeming tranquillity. The spirit of rebellion, which by Warwick's influence had seized upon the minds of the people, was not yet wholly extinguished, and soon after broke out in the north. Sir Robert Wells, an officer of great experience, drew together some troops, which in a short time swelled to an army. Warwick pretended at first to condemn the enterprize of Wells, and, to banish Edward's suspicions, redoubled his assurances of fidelity; he even set out from London accompanied by the duke of Clarence, under pretence of going to quiet the rebels. Edward had no confidence in Warwick; this last step served only to render him still more suspected: however, the king was obliged to dissemble his fears, and seem satisfied with the assurances given him, as not having it in his power either to prove, or punish intentions. Mean time the rebels advanced towards London. Edward speedily assembled an army and marched against them, carrying along with him the lord Wells, and sir Thomas Dynach, his brother-in-law, whom he had taken care to secure upon the first rumour of the re-

volt. He received at the same time letters from the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, by which he understood that they were advancing to join him with a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men. This news pleased him not a little at first, but, relapsing into his former suspicions, he no longer doubted that it was Warwick's intention to pass over to the side of the rebels. He therefore resolved to fight before his arrival, in the belief, that should victory declare for him, the duke of Clarence and Warwick, would not dare to forfeit their engagements; but that if it was his fate to be vanquished, he might then bring it to a second trial with the assistance of Warwick's troops, provided his promises were sincere. Edward was still more confirmed in this resolution, when he understood that Wells had divided his forces, and was advancing with part of the army to Stamford. Instead of weakening himself by detachments, he resolved to carry all his forces on that side. The armies soon came within sight. Edward finding himself superior, gave the signal of battle, by ordering the heads of Wells's father and uncle to be struck off. The fight was bloody, but did not continue long, because sir Robert Wells, animated by a desire of revenging his father's death, rushed furiously into the midst of the enemy's troops, where he was surrounded and taken. The rebels, thus deprived of their leader, began to give ground, and the king's army taking advantage of this favourable turn, charged them vigorously, and made a dreadful slaughter. Upwards of ten thousand were left dead upon the spot. Edward, whom this victory seems to have rendered more cruel, ordered Wells and the principal prisoners to be beheaded: they all upon the scaffold charged the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Warwick, as having the chief hand in the revolt. And indeed these last, despairing now of success or favour, embarked

barked with intent to land at Calais. Vauclair, a gentleman of Gascony, who then commanded in the town, and owed his place to Warwick, instead of giving the earl the reception he expected, ordered the cannon to fire upon him. The duchess of Clarence was just delivered in the ship of a prince, and a shallop was dispatched to bring her some necessary refreshments. Vauclair contented himself with sending two flaggons of wine by a trusty messenger, who had orders, at the same time, to tell the earl of Warwick from him, that he was obliged to behave in the manner he had done, the better to serve him, because the people being devoted to Edward, would immediately have taken up arms, had he suffered him to enter the town; that he might still depend upon his fidelity, but that he reserved his services for a more favourable opportunity. The duke of Clarence and Warwick, after keeping some time at Sea, steered their course for Normandy, and landed at Honfleur, where they were received by the admiral of France.

The duke of Burgundy wrote to the king and inhabitants of Rouen, complaining of their acting contrary to the tenor of the treaties then subsisting, by the protection granted to the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, whom he charged with having taken and carried into the ports of France several ships belonging to the Burgundians and Britons. To this the king made answer, that he was far from intending to be wanting in the observance of his treaties; that if the earl of Warwick had seized any ships belonging to the subjects of the duke, they had been already either restored, or retaken; but that if he thought due satisfaction had not yet been given, he might send such as pretended their effects were detained, to search out and reclaim them. The king, in nominating the commissioners who were to see to the restitution of the effects claimed by

the duke of Burgundy, gave orders to acquaint Warwick, that it would be proper to remove his fleet from the mouth of the Seine, and convey it to Cherbourg and Granville; because he would be there less under the eye of the constable, who sent the duke of Burgundy information of every thing that passed.

The duke not yet satisfied in regard to his demands, wrote again upon this subject to the court of France. There is still extant a letter of his, conceived in very strong terms, and which abundantly demonstrates with how much heat and earnestness he urged that affair. * It is addressed to the archbishop of Narbonne, and the admiral, and complains of new hostilities committed upon the Burgundians, threatening at the same time to make reprisals, unless speedy satisfaction was given; for that he would no longer be amused with frivolous excuses and pretences.

But it little availed what treaties the duke of Burgundy entered into with France; he was upon all occasions ready to break them, and join with the enemies of that crown. He had lately received the collar of the order of the garter from England, which was presented to him, with great pomp and solemnity, by Dursfort lord Duras, Edward's ambassador. Nay, while he was even courting the friendship of that prince, he complained of the king's officers for summoning the Burgundians to appear at the muster of the ban and arriere-ban, which he pretended was a direct violation of the treaty of Peronne: he, moreover, reproached the king with a design of making war upon the duke of Britany. Lewis com-

* *Archevesque, & vous Amiral, les navires que vous dites avoir été mis de par le Roi en contre les Anglois, ont ja exploictté sur la flotte de mes sujets retournant en mes pays: mais par S. Georges si l'on n'y pourvoid, à l'aide de Dieu j'y pourvoirai sans vos congies ny vos raisons, ny justices: car elles sont trop velontaires & longues.* CHARLES, 29 Mai.

commissioned Guyot Pot and Courcillon to wait on the duke of Burgundy, and tell him, that he had taken all possible care to avoid giving ground of complaint, by expressly forbidding his subjects to molest those of the duke; that with regard to the duke of Britany, he thought it very strange to be accused of intending a war against him, when he had so lately signed a new treaty, to explain and ratify that of Ancenis; nay, that he was still ready to enter into fresh engagements, provided it would tend to the establishing of peace; that he had in no war been the aggressor, nor ever taken up arms, but by advice of the princes of the blood; and that he thought it unreasonable, as well as unjust, to urge against him the treaty of Conflans, since it was manifestly a forced treaty, and what he had ever disclaimed and protested against. I cannot here forbear remarking, that Lewis, on many occasions, protested without scruple against the treaty of Conflans, and yet never found fault with that of Péronne, at least during the duke of Burgundy's life, though much more injurious to his honour; but perhaps this very consideration was the cause of his acquiescing so readily. The war of the public good was the business of the state, as well as his own, whereas, had he seemed discontented with the treaty of Péronne, he might have been reproached with the causes, motives, and consequences of it, which were not at all to his credit.

The ambassadors added, that the duke of Burgundy had, of all others, the least reason to insist so much upon the treaty of Conflans, as he was the only prince against whom protestations had not been made, and with whom the treaty was faithfully kept: that he ought to remember, he was himself bound, by that treaty, to enter into no alliance contrary to the interest of France: which, indeed, was no more than what he was obliged to do by his quality.

lity of prince of the blood, first peer of the realm, and the returns of acknowledgment, which the house of Burgundy owed to the kings of France. They put him in mind, that Philip the bold, his great-grandfather, had received a grant of the duchy of Burgundy from king John ; that Charles V. had, to the utmost of his power, promoted the marriage of that prince with the heiress of Flanders, and, to facilitate it, had yielded to him the lordships of Lillé, Douay, and Orchies ; and that Charles VI. had gone in person to subdue the Flemings after a revolt ; adding, that these services were now repeated, not in a way of reproach, but to make the duke sensible, that it was his duty to continue always the inseparable friend and ally of France.

Hugonet, bailiff of Charolois, was going to reply to this speech of the ambassadors, when the duke hastily took up the discourse, and told them, that if the dukes of Burgundy were under obligations to the kings of France, they had sufficiently testified their acknowledgment by the services they had rendered that crown ; nor ought the king, who harboured all the criminals and disaffected of his subjects, to blame him for sending succours to the duke of Britany.

The duke of Burgundy wrote some
June 12. time after to the duchess his mother, that since the promise made of restoring the effects belonging to his subjects, Warwick had pillaged several Flemish Vessels, and the French admiral sent a man to set fire to the Burgundian fleet. Charles, without examining into the truth of these reports, gave letters patents for the seizing of all the French merchandize to be found in his dominions. His fleet, mean while, commanded by the sieur de la Vire, appeared off the cape of Caux, where it was joined by that of England and Britany.

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The bastard of Bourbon gave notice of this to the king, assuring him, at the same time, that he had got together all the effects taken from the duke's subjects, and was ready to restore them as soon as they should be claimed by the owners; that he had sent word of this to la Vere, who declared he would receive them only from Warwick himself, and had orders to attack him wherever he should find him; that he had answered, he might do it at sea, but not in any of the king's ports; and that he had writ to Warwick not to stay at Honfleur, but make the best of his way to lower Normandy. Several messages on this subject passed between the commanders of the two fleets: at last, the king, fearing these disputes might occasion a war, gave orders to Bourré and Briconnet to engage Warwick to return to England.

The king's cares were suspended for a while, on account of the joy occasioned by the birth of the dauphin Charles. This *June 30.* young prince was born at Amboise, on the 30th of June. Never had child been requested of heaven with more ardent prayers. His birth, so acceptable to France, was celebrated with unusual transports of joy. Charles of Bourbon, archbishop of Lyons, stood god-father, and Jane of France, duchess of Bourbon, god-mother to the dauphin.

The king, seeing the succession secured by the birth of a son, applied himself more than ever to the re-establishing peace and tranquility in the kingdom. Accordingly, he set out for Angers, accompanied by the duke of Guyenne and king René, that he might be the nearer at hand to give instructions to Dammartin and Crussol, who had been sent to Nantes to negotiate an accommodation with the duke of Britany. Margaret queen of England, the prince of Wales her son, the earl of Warwick and his young daughter, all came to the king at Angers,

Angers, where a marriage was soon after concluded between the prince of Wales and Warwick's daughter. Margaret, the prince of Wales her son, and and her daughter-in-law, retiring afterwards to Raziilly, the king assigned them officers and pensions, suited rather to their rank, than the present condition of their affairs.

The earl of Warwick preparing to return into England, notwithstanding the united fleets of Edward and the duke of Burgundy, which waited to intercept him, set sail at last, and, favoured by a fog, passed unobserved either by the English or Burgundians. The French ships appointed to convoy him had orders, if they met the enemy's fleet, to pursue their voyage without stopping; but to defend themselves if attacked.

While Warwick was preparing to put to sea, the king, under pretence of a pilgrimage to mount St. Michael, made a progress through Normandy. At his return to Plessis he held a grand council on affairs of commerce, to which he summoned two merchants from all the principal cities of the kingdom. Lewis always preferred experience and knowledge of business to dignities. The point under consideration was, how they ought to behave towards the subjects of the duke of Burgundy, who had caused all the merchandize of France within his dominions to be seized.

They proceeded also to examine, what influence the divisions in England might have upon the question before them: after mature deliberation, it was resolved to hold no more fairs at Anvers, to break off all commerce with the subjects of duke Charles; and, to encourage the resort of strangers to France, the king ordained that two fairs should be held yearly at Caen, where all sorts of money should be current, and strangers enjoy all the privileges of natural subjects.

Soon

Soon after this, accounts came, that the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Warwick, had landed at Dartmouth, where they were joined by Stanley, and the son of the famous Talbot, with five thousand men. Warwick published an order, enjoining all that were able to bear arms to come and fight for Henry, their lawful king, against Edward duke of York, a tyrant and usurper. Henry's party increased every day, insomuch that Warwick, before Edward could get up with him, saw himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men. Edward's council was wholly made up of favourites; he employed in affairs of state those who were the companions of his pleasures, and was thinking of nothing but hunting, and the vain pursuits of gallantry, when the news of Warwick's approach first reached him. However, he speedily assembled an army; but trusting the care of the vanguard to the marquiss of Montague, Warwick's brother, that nobleman went over to the rebels. His revolt drew after it that of the greatest part of Edward's army, who seeing himself abandoned, escaped to Lynn, where he embarked on board three small vessels with the duke of Gloucester his brother, the earl of Rivers his brother-in-law, the earl of Northumberland, the lord Hastings, and about seven or eight hundred men. The earl of Warwick marched directly for London, and took Henry VI. out of the tower, to place him again upon the throne. Accordingly, that unhappy prince was proclaimed a second time: a king in name, but in reality a slave, who regretted perhaps the loss of that tranquillity he had tasted in confinement.

When Lewis understood that Edward had taken refuge with the duke of Burgundy, he doubted not but his resentment against France would prompt him to urge that prince to a declaration of war. Indeed, the particular subjects of quarrel between the

the king and duke Charles were of themselves more than sufficient; and they were besides exasperated against each other by the malecontents at either court. Philip of Savoy had quitted the service of the king, and was become a favourite with Charles, and John de Chalons lord of Argeuil had left the duke to attach himself to Lewis.

Charles prohibited all commerce between his subjects and those of France. The king on his side concluded a league offensive and defensive with the Switzers against the duke of Burgundy. He wrote for the Count de Dammartin, that he might concert with him the measures proper to be taken in the present circumstances. It was resolved to send ambassadors into England, to conclude a league offensive and defensive with Henry VI. Accordingly, Lewis de Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, du Châtel, Meny Peny, lord of Concreffault, Yvon du Fau, and Cerizay set out, and the treaty was signed. The king declared publicly, that he had the prince of Wales's seal, and that they had jointly sworn not to cease making war upon the duke of Burgundy, till they had deprived him of his dominions.

On the other hand, the duke made all the necessary preparations, and was chiefly attentive to prevent an union between the English and French. He wrote to the inhabitants of Calais, and sent Philip de Commines to represent, that he had not entered into an alliance with Edward, till after he had been acknowledged king of England; that the treaty was therefore made with the nation itself; that he was united by ties of blood to Henry, and would send ambassadors to congratulate him on his re-establishment; that he never intended to meddle in the particular divisions and factions formed for the crown, but to consider himself as the ally of the nation and people of England; that there was not even an Englishman more zealous for the glory of
the

the nation than he, and that the troops he was levying were only to defend his own dominions. He wrote in the same strain to the people of England, and his letter began with these words; *To you, my friends.*

The duke of Burgundy sent to demand succours of king René and the duke of Britany, as guarantees of the treaties of Conflans and Peronne, which he pretended were violated by the king. He likewise addressed himself to the parliament, urging, that Lewis, by lately seizing upon the provostships of Beauvoisis, had been guilty of a manifest infraction of these treaties, and was therefore liable to all the penalties pronounced against the breakers of them.

The king, still fearing the irresolution and unsteadiness of the duke of Britany, sent Crussol and the president Boulanger thither, with orders to address themselves first to Odet Daidie. They endeavoured to make appear, that the king had faithfully adhered to his engagements by the treaty of Peronne, though compelled to sign it, that he might recover his liberty, and perhaps secure his life; that the duke of Burgundy on the contrary gave every day fresh proofs of the little regard he paid to his promises, in refusing to do homage for the lands he held of the crown, and opposing the exercise of justice in the kingdom; that he had stirred up the count of Armagnac to favour a descent of the English in Guyenne, and seemed wholly in the interest of that nation; that his sole aim was to raise disturbances in the kingdom, and that by the most shocking of all treacheries, he had sent a man to make an offer of himself to assassinate the duke, hoping that the king would listen to the wretch's proposal, and thereby dishonour himself and allies.

These complaints of the king appeared so much the better founded, as he had actually intercepted the duke's letter to the English, and thrown into
prison

prison John Rocks, the fellow suborned for the above-mentioned purpose, whose history is as follows. Peter Hagembac, master of the household to the duke of Burgundy, was one of those men without honour or principles, who are incapable of a sincere attachment to their prince, and not having it in their power to render him any real services, are yet desirous of making themselves necessary at any rate. He it was that suggested the project mentioned above, and to execute it, pitched upon one John Rocks, who had been chief of a band of robbers, and who having nothing to lose, was the more ready to engage in any desperate enterprize. He was accordingly presented to the duke of Burgundy, and received his instructions. Rocks came to Amboise, and made his proposal to the king; but upon the first mention of it was seized and sent to Paris; where being interrogated by la Driesche the president of accompts, he confessed all. He was afterwards conducted to Meaux to be a second time interrogated by the constable, and persisted in the same deposition before him. The parliament brought him upon his trial, condemned him to die; but the first president moved for keeping him some time in prison before the execution of the sentence.

This affair was followed by another, which made no less noise. Baudouin, bastard of Burgundy, came to Lewis's court at the solicitation of John de Chassa, who had quitted the service of the duke the year before. Charles sent messengers to the king, demanding to have them surrendered up, and published a manifesto, wherein he pretended that Baudouin, Chassa, and some others, had entered into a plot to assassinate, or poison him. The bastard Baudouin and de Chassa answered the duke's manifesto by two papers full of scandal and invective.

Chassa

Chassa reproached the duke with persecuting him, because he had refused to answer a brutal and unnatural passion; and Baudouin pretended that Charles had formerly urged him to make away with duke Philip. These particular quarrels inflamed still more the hatred already subsisting between the king and the duke of Burgundy.

Lewis, to come to a final determination in regard to the measures he ought to pursue, summoned so numerous an assembly of princes, great officers, and persons of all ranks in the kingdom, that Philip de Commines confounds it with the convention of the estates held at Tours in 1648. But in this he is mistaken; the states then met by their deputies, whereas the assembly of this year 1470, was composed only of such persons as the king was pleased to call to it. He laid before them his subjects of complaint against the duke of Burgundy, and demanded whether they were not sufficient to authorize a declaration of war. They all unanimously replied, that the princes, who had given their Seals to the duke of Burgundy, were no longer bound to adhere to him; and that the king not only might declare war against him, but that the support of the laws, and the security of the kingdom, even required it; thus war was resolved on.

The king was at this time in peace with all his neighbours; he was sure of the consent of the princes, and had nothing to fear from intrigues within the kingdom. The duke of Burgundy had in vain sent to king René, and the duke of Britany, to come and join him; he could no longer hope for assistance from England, after giving Edward a retreat at his court. Altho' these circumstances were favourable for the king, he was yet unwilling to come to an open rupture, and therefore contented himself with sending the constable and the marshal Rouault to the frontiers of Picardy, to maintain a secret intelligence

telligence with the duke's subjects, and draw them over to him : a dishonourable proceeding, and which, in its consequences, might prove more dangerous than an open war.

Much about the same time, queen Margaret came to Paris, attended by the princess of Wales, and the countess of Warwick. She was received there with all the honours that could have been paid to a queen of France. The whole court seemed to rival one another in expressing their regard for a princess, who had frequently no other titles but her virtue and misfortunes.

The king, not having succeeded in his design of marrying the duke of Guyenne to Isabella infanta of Castile, sent to demand the princess Jane, king Henry's daughter, and niece to Isabella. The cardinal d'Alby, and the sire de Torcy, had been charged to make the first proposal, and were now again nominated to treat of this marriage. Oliver le Roux, master of accompts, was sent with them, and the duke of Guyenne empowered the count of Boulogne to espouse the princess of Castile in his name.

The ambassadors arrived at Medina del Campo, where they were received with particular marks of distinction. The cardinal d'Alby, at his first audience, spoke with so little respect to the princess Isabella, that his behaviour gave great offence. But the king of Castile, who was far from being contented with his sister, did not seem displeased at the cardinal's freedom ; he replied, in the most obliging terms, and nominated the archbishop of Seville, the bishop of Siguenca, and John Pacheco, marquis of Villena, grand-master of the order of St. James, who were all in the interest of France, to treat with the ambassadors.

When the marriage-articles were settled, the court removed to a village called St. James's Field, near
Bultrago,

Bultrago, whither the queen carried the princess, her daughter. There the king caused a paper to be read, containing the grounds of his discontent with his sister; also an act annulling that by which Isabella had been formerly acknowledged heiress of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. King Henry, and Jane his queen, both swore, that the princess Jane was their daughter, and published a declaration divesting Isabella of all her rights, with a strict charge, at the same time, to treat her no longer as princess of Castile. The cardinal d'Alby read afterwards a bull of pope Paul II. by which those who had taken the oath to Isabella, were absolved from their engagements. All present swore not to acknowledge any other princess than Jane, the daughter of the king and queen. The same day the marriage-ceremony was performed, and the count de Boulogne, as proxy for the duke of Guyenne, gave his hand to the princess.

This vain parade did not diminish the party of Isabella and Ferdinand, insomuch that the king of Castile sent the protonotary don Lewis Gonzales d'Alienca into France, to request Lewis XI. to ratify the duke of Guyenne's marriage, and send that prince immediately into Spain, with an army sufficient to reduce the rebels, before they received succours from Arragon. The affair was not pushed with the same vigour with which it had been begun. This delay proceeded from the duke of Guyenne, who having no fixed resolution, still listened to those who flattered him with the hopes of being espoused to the heiress of Burgundy. The prince, however, seemed to receive with pleasure, the news of what had been done in Castile, and published festivals at Ligournes. Gaston Phœbus, prince of Vianne, Lewis XI. son-in-law, distinguished himself greatly upon this occasion at a tournament, by his strength and agility; but after carrying the prize, in all the
different

for which he had greater occasion elsewhere. These delays gave Dammartin time to make some companies advance, who immediately entered the town, and the citizens took an oath of fidelity to the king.

Upon this news the duke of Burgundy, not thinking himself safe at Dourlens, retired to Arras. Before the surrender of the town of Amiens, he had writ a letter to the count de Dammartin, in which he put him in mind of the war of the publick good, and the treaties of Conflans and Peronne, which he pretended had been violated by the king: he enlarged greatly on what we have said before of the provostships of Beauvoisis, and reproached Dammartin with the taking of St. Quintin, and the letters he had just written to the inhabitants of Amiens; concluding, that he very well knew, both how to defend his dominions, and oppose the enterprizes of the king.

Dammartin answered him the same day, in these terms: *Most high and mighty prince, I received your letter, which I suppose was dictated by your council, and others learned in the law, who are men better qualified for inditing letters than I, for I never made it my business to live by the pen.* He afterwards tells him, that he would never have engaged in the civil wars, had not his enemies entirely ruined him in the king's favour; but that such now was his good fortune, he had triumphed over calumny. *I would have you to know,* adds he, *that had I been on the king's side, when you entered into that destructive confederacy, which you are pleased to call the league of the publick good, you would not have come off so well, especially at the battle of Mont-Cherry.* He afterwards reproaches the duke with his dishonourable treatment of the king at Peronne: *I myself,* says he, *was the cause of that accident, by my unwillingness to divide the army committed to my care—If I write any thing that gives offence, or provokes you to a desire of revenge, you shall soon find me*
near

near enough to make you sensible how little I fear either you or your army. Be as sure as death, that if you persist long in warring against the king, it will in the end appear to all the world, how little you understand the business of a soldier. This letter is written by me Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, grand-master of the household of France, and lieutenant-general of the king's armies. The superscription was,

A monsieur de Bourgogne.

The king, the more effectually to secure the cities that had submitted, and draw over others to his party, wrote to the chamber of accounts, to register the charter of privileges he had granted to St. Quentin. The chamber, after raising some difficulties, were constrained at last to yield. Lewis likewise interposed his authority in a debate that was before the parliament, relating to some disputes between their officers, and those of the bailiwick of Tournay. He told them, that he reserved the decision of that affair to himself; and, upon their refusal to lay before him the several papers and memorials, sent a messenger on purpose to bring them, and wrote them, that now was not a proper time of being scrupulously attached to vain forms in regard of a city, which, as it was surrounded by his enemies, might do him more mischief, than the parliament would ever have it in their power to redress.

Dammartin having made his cavalry pass the Somme, the king began to be extremely uneasy at it. His natural diffidence made him explain it in a manner very much to that general's prejudice, altho' he had but just writ him a letter, signifying how well he was satisfied with his services. Dammartin justified himself fully on account of the scarcity of forage on this side the Somme. He wrote, that it was his design to possess himself of some castles, or destroy them, as he had already

The duke of Burgundy observing that his detachments were almost every where beaten, hoped he might have the advantage in a general action, by the number of his troops. The king, confiding in the valour of his, did not decline fighting. He assembled his principal officers, and the old commanders, who had chiefly contributed to drive the English out of France. De Beuil, whom the king ordered to speak first, expressed himself with great modesty: *That as the wars under Charles VII. wherein he served, had always been managed by small armies, not exceeding ten thousand men, he could not take upon him to decide any thing in regard to the operations of so numerous a body of troops; for that he dreaded disorder and confusion, and durst not answer for the event.* The constable spoke next, and observed, *That as the duke of Burgundy's army was more numerous than had been usual in the late wars, the king was likewise under a necessity of opposing it with another proportionably stronger than ordinary; that it was true the French were still inferior in number, but this disadvantage was abundantly compensated by the goodness and bravery of the troops; and, in fine, that to hazard nothing rashly, every one might be ordered to give in his opinion in writing.* They were accordingly delivered to the king. The greater number were for fighting; but as they did not agree about the manner of attacking the enemy, Lewis, fearing the consequences of so many different opinions, resolved not to hazard a general battle. He contented himself with watching the motions of the enemy, falling upon their detachments, and carrying off their convoys. This conduct so effectually distressed the duke of Burgundy, that he was necessitated to conclude a truce. Nor were his arms more successful in Burgundy than Picardy. The count dauphin of Auvergne, and the marshal de Comminges, had defeated Neuchatel, and possessed themselves of several towns in Macon-

mois and Charolois. A truce was therefore signed for three months. Nicholas, duke of Calabria and Lorrain,* was comprehended in it, upon condition of withdrawing his troops from Chastel-sur-Moselle, and that the duke of Burgundy also recalled those he had in Lorrain. The king and duke were to name, within eight days, such of their allies as they desired to have included in the truce. Dammartin, Mouy, du Chatel, and Chatillon, were named for † conservators by the king; and Ravestein, des Querdes, Imbercourt, and Rothelin, by the duke. Mean while tidings arrived, that Edward had entered Yorkshire with two thousand men. As he found the country quiet, and that no body offered to stir in his favour, he caused it to be rumoured, in order to conceal his real design, that he renounced all pretensions to the crown, and was only come to claim the private inheritance of his family. The city of York, seduced by this pretended moderation, admitted him with a few of his followers. But his affable air, his engaging form, the remembrance of his past victories, and his present misfortunes, soon gained him the hearts of all the inhabitants. The English, naturally fond of liberty, and easily stirred up to sedition, love to make kings, and refuse to obey them. Edward advanced towards Nottingham, and finding that his army increased daily, resumed the title of king, without much troubling himself about the promise he had made to the citizens of York. Oaths seem to be

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* King René's grandson.

† Instead of chusing, as at this day foreign princes, to be the guarantees of treaties, it was usual to name conservators, who were always feudatories of the contracting parties, and stood bound for the most part to declare against their proper sovereign, if he was guilty of a violation of the treaty. This custom was observed so late as the treaty of Lens.

considered by some princes as only an expression of their misfortunes, and success, as they imagine, absolves them from all further obligation.

On the first news of Edward's landing, the earl of Warwick set out from London with the duke of Clarence. This last, who had abandoned his brother to side with Warwick, now revolted to Edward's party with twelve thousand men; a behaviour, which tho' supported by a better shew of reason, argued no less treachery in the author of it. Warwick was compelled to shut himself up in Coventry. Edward, instead of attacking him, marched directly for London. His approach threw the whole city into the utmost confusion. The women passionately longed for the re-establishment of a reign, wherein they had been treated with such particular marks of distinction; and the people who had felt only compassion for Henry in his misfortunes, despised him on the throne. In fine, the partizans of the house of York prevailing, Edward was received with acclamations into the capital, and ordered Henry to be again imprisoned in the tower. The king, willing to take advantage of the first moments of the people's heat, always precious in publick revolutions, returned against Warwick. The two armies met in the plains of Barnet, between St. Albans and London. Some of the best officers in Warwick's army, were of opinion, that they ought to intrench themselves, and wait the arrival of the prince of Wales, who was within a day's march. But Warwick, who had ever been the hero of all the parties in which he had engaged, could not bear the thoughts of sharing the glory of the victory with the duke of Somerset, who commanded the army of the prince of Wales. Besides, consulting only his fury and resentment, he was blind to the danger, and urged by a desire of vengeance, breathed nothing but slaughter and bloodshed.

shed. Edward advanced in the same disposition, but with his army in good order, and already greatly superior in number. The battle was fought on easter-day. After the first discharges, both sides closed in, and fell upon each other sword in hand. For three hours the advantage seemed to be equal, and the victory still remained doubtful. The fate of battles does not always depend upon the general's prudence. The Sun beating full upon the devices of Oxford's troops, which were stars with streams, occasioned their being mistaken for Edward's badge, which was a sun; the impetuosity of the battle contributed to this delusion, and hence it happened, that Oxford's men were furiously charged by those of their own party. Warwick, who thought himself betrayed, and now despaired of the victory, disdaining to save his life by an ignominious flight, rushed among the thickest of his enemies, courting death by the havock he made on every side. The marquis of Montague followed his brother's example, and both perished overpowered by numbers. Warwick was in a manner the soul of the army; he fell, and they all took to flight. It was now no longer a battle, but a massacre, ten thousand men remained upon the spot, with the loss of only fifteen hundred on Edward's side. Oxford and Somerset saved themselves by flight; but the first was taken some few days after, and beheaded.

Whilst Edward was returning in triumph to London, queen Margaret, the countess of Warwick, and the prince of Wales, received the fatal news of Henry's misfortune, the death of the earl of Warwick, and the total defeat of the army; the queen was unable to bear up under so many sudden disasters. Her days had hitherto been a continued train of calamities, which now all recurring to her mind, made life appear unsupportable; and that courage which had so long withstood the shocks of fortune,

began at last to sink under the present mighty load of woes. Mean while she was not at all concerned for her own fate; her virtue was superior to misfortunes, nor could a danger which threatened only herself, make any the least impresson upon her mind; but as her whole hopes and joys centered on the prince of Wales, the forlorn condition to which she saw him reduced, revived all the tenderness of a mother, and made her lose that heroick firmness, by which she had ever been so gloriously distinguished. Thus yielding to her unhappy destiny, she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, and thought of nothing but how to save the prince her son. But the duke of Somerset, the lord Beaufort, and the earl of Devonshire arriving soon after, represented, that her party was yet strong enough to bring it to another trial, that it was necessary the prince himself should appear to keep up their spirits, without which they would unavoidably disperse and fall to nothing; and that a prince born to reign, had no other choice but a throne or death.

The queen yielding to necessity, put herself with the prince her son at the head of her party, and advanced into Cornwall and Devonshire, which submitted: She was preparing to pass into Wales, to join the earl of Pembroke, Henry Vith's half brother, when she learnt at Tewksbury, that Edward was marching to give her battle. She therefore thought proper to entrench herself; but Edward coming up, the duke of Gloucester his brother, who commanded the vanguard, attacked the entrenchments of the prince of Wales. The duke of Somerset sallied out to repulse him; but not being supported, he was obliged to return. He rode up to Wenlock, who had not stirred from the place where he first drew up his men, and reproaching him with his cowardice, clove his scull with a battle-ax. The duke of Gloucester continuing the pursuit, forced the entrenchments,

entrenchments, and Edward's whole army coming up at the same time, likewise entered the camp, and made a terrible slaughter. Such as were most distinguished for courage, drew up round the prince of Wales, and fell sword in hand. Three thousand were left dead upon the spot, the rest saved themselves by flight. The prince of Wales fell into the hands of sir Richard Crofts, who at first had resolved to conceal him; but Edward offering a pension of five hundred pounds sterling to any one that should bring him dead or alive, avarice got the better of humanity; Crofts imagined he had sufficiently secured his honour, by making Edward promise not to put the prince to death; but hatred is no less a stranger to generosity than avarice. Edward ordered the prince to be brought him, and asking him how he came to be so rash, thus to enter his kingdom in arms; the other boldly replied, that as his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been kings of England by right of inheritance, by their virtues, and by the people's choice, he was come to take possession of a throne to which he had the only just and lawful title. Edward full of indignation at this boldness, sullied his victory by an action of the greatest barbarity. He struck the unfortunate prince on the mouth with his gantlet, and that instant the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, and lord Hastings, fell upon him, and stabbed him. The duke of Gloucester hastened immediately to London, and plunged into Henry's breast the dagger which had been stained with the blood of his son. Thus died Henry VI. a prince whose misfortunes merit compassion, whose virtues have no doubt rendered him happy in another life, but who makes no great figure in the list of kings. Commynes, Forestel, and Edward's letter to the duke of Burgundy, assure us that the prince of Wales was slain in the battle; but besides that the barba-

rity shown the father, makes that towards the son appear the more credible, what I now relate, is upon the testimony of Habington, the author of Edward's life; of Biondi, who wrote the history of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and of a manuscript of those times. All three agree in saying, that the prince of Wales was made prisoner at the battle of Tewksbury, and killed afterwards in cold blood. Commynes and Forestell wrote what they found in Edward's letter: and it is natural enough to think, that as the prince was killed soon after the battle, and almost on the very spot where it was fought, Edward, rather ashamed than repenting of the action, endeavoured to take off from the horror of it, by giving it the turn above-mentioned.

The queen having been made prisoner on the field of battle, was carried to London, and confined in the Tower, where she remained a prisoner several years, till at length Lewis XI. ransomed her for fifty thousand crowns.

The rest of that unfortunate party who had escaped from the battle, retired into the abbey of Tewksbury. Edward appeared before it, and required to have them all delivered up. The abbot and monks came out, carrying in their hands the holy sacrament, and imploring the victor's clemency. Edward promised with an oath to pardon the prisoners, but ever perjured and cruel, he ordered the duke of Somerset with some others the principal among them, to be beheaded. Nothing serves to give a better idea of the genius of the English, than the suddenness of these revolutions. Edward, in less than three weeks, recovered a kingdom which he had lost in ten days. He was not insensible, that in England a party is not entirely destroyed by being vanquished: a single spark there, is sufficient often to raise a flame. He was therefore still in great perplexity on account of the
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the earl of Pembroke, and the bastard of Fauconbridge, who ravaged the country round London. Edward marched in person against the latter, and surprizing him in Sandwich, ordered his head to be struck off. While the king was thus employed in securing the tranquillity of the capital, Vaughan whom he had detached against the earl of Pembroke, fell into an Ambuscade and was slain. As this success did not put Pembroke in a condition to resist Edward, he embarked for France with the young earl of Richmond his nephew ; but a tempest arising, forced them upon the coasts of Britany, where they were seized, and remained a long time prisoners.

The revolution in England entirely changed the dispositions of that crown with regard to France. The ambassadors sent by Lewis XI. to Henry VI. had signed a truce of ten years with that prince, and a treaty, by which the English were to declare against the duke of Burgundy, and furnish France with a body of ten thousand archers, who were of the king's own guards, and esteemed the best troops in England. The duke of Guyenne was comprehended in the treaty ; all things seemed to conspire towards the destruction of the house of Burgundy, and the raising the king above his enemies, when these mighty projects sunk at once by the death of Henry VI. and the earl of Warwick. Lewis XI. was afraid lest Edward should turn his arms against him, not only from a principle of revenge, but also with a view to keep the English employed, that by engaging them in a foreign war, he might divert their thoughts from home-seditions.

The king, not doubting but his enemies would renew their intrigues, and endeavour, if possible, to seduce the duke of Guyenne, prevailed with the young prince to come and join him in Picardy, and found means to detain him at court the rest of the campaign.

campaign. He caused all the honours to be paid him that could flatter his ambition, and loaded with presents those who were in greatest credit with him. Malicorne was at that time the reigning favourite, that is, in other words, the duke of Guyenne's master; the king, to gain him over, made him a grant of the barony of Medoc.

The king being returned to Paris, left nothing untried to gain the good-will of the people; he came to the town-house on the eve of St. John, and kindled the fire with his own hands: this circumstance frivolous in appearance, was far otherwise in his account. He affected to appear at the publick festivals, and had observed that the familiarity of the prince on these occasions is more grateful to the people, than favours derived from a concealed source, and which the subjects enjoy in a manner without knowing it: neither was he ignorant that copies of verses were handed all over Paris, reflecting upon him and his ministers, for the late truce concluded with the duke of Burgundy, at a time when they might easily have pushed their conquests farther. These petulant writings, so disrespectful to the prince, sprung more from the levity of the nation, than any real disaffection; they failed not, however, of giving great umbrage to the king, because he was therein justly reproached with not having made a proper use of his advantages. In reality, the distrustful character of this prince, by suggesting imaginary difficulties, made him often lose the most favourable opportunities. Lewis was sensible of his error, when he understood that the duke of Burgundy was raising troops, and had broke the truce, under pretence that the stipulated towns had not been delivered up to him. The king, in order to obtain a prolongation of the truce, was obliged to surrender several forts into his hands. The number of conservators were increased on either side. These precautions
taken

taken for the security of their treaties, were a proof how little they could depend upon them. But besides the wars which the king was obliged to sustain in his own name, he was often entangled in those of other states. The troubles which about this time arose in Savoy, gave him new cause of disturbance.

Philip prince of Bresse, with the counts of Romont and Geneva, made great complaints of the weakness of duke Amadeus their brother; nor were they less dissatisfied with the duchess Yolande, their sister-in-law, for imparting the whole power to Miolans, Bonnivard bishop of Verceil, and Doloy. The three princes found means to stir up a revolt among the people, and the duke and duchess not being in a condition to resist them, retired into the castle of Montmelian. They were presently besieged in the place, and forced to capitulate. The duke was conducted to chambery, and the duchess to Aspremont, whence she wrote to her brother to demand aid.

Lewis ordered the count de Comminges governor of Dauphiné, to assemble the arriere-ban, and franc archers of the province. The command of this army was destined for Charles of Savoy, who had been bred up at the king's court; but the young prince dying in the mean time, the count de Comminges entered Savoy, surprized the castle of Aspremont, set the duchess Yolande at liberty, and conducted her to Grenoble, where she was received with the same honours that had been formerly paid to the king, when he was dauphin.

But it was not enough that the king had set his sister at liberty, unless he also restored her to her authority. He got the duke of Milan to sign a league with her, and prevailed on the king of Naples, the republick of Florence, the dukes of Ferrara and Modena, the Switzers, and the marquiss of Montferrat, to accede to it. Crussol, and Rufec de Balzac, had orders

with Mary the only daughter of the duke of Burgundy. He knew that the chancellor of Britany, and the abbot of Begard *, had held a private conference with the duke of Guyenne at Orleans, and doubted not but the interview related wholly to this Marriage.

And indeed the prince retiring into Guyenne, wrote to Lescun, and began to put his towns into a state of defence. Mean time the duke of Britany gave Charles an account of the dispositions of the duke of Guyenne. The king was informed of this intrigue by Oliver le Roux, who returning from Spain, where he had been to negotiate the marriage between the duke of Guyenne and the infanta Jane, passed by the way of Mont-de-Marsan, to have a meeting with the count of Foix. Le Roux chancing to lie in the same room where Henry Millet the duke of Britany's envoy had been lodged some time before, found several fragments of letters, which piecing together with great care, though he could not make out any coherent sense, he perceived however, that there was a great deal said relating to St. Quintin, Amiens, alliances, and secret intrigues. He sent them to the king, and wrote him at the same time, that Edward had dispatched an ambassador to the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, to assure them, that he was ready to declare war against France, and proposed to fall upon Normandy or Guyenne; he added, that the duke of Burgundy had intelligence of all that passed at the court of France, and that the king was betrayed by some of those who were nearest about his person; that there had been several conferences between the duke of Guyenne, the count de Foix, Lescun, the Governor of Rochelle, and several others, who had all mutually given their seals; that the count de Foix however protested,

* Vincent de Kerleau, afterwards bishop of Leon.

tested, he had not given his, but complained much of the king, and pretended, that it was in his power to do him much mischief, or the greatest services ; and that if the count de Foix was not already entered into the same measures with the rest, his discourse at least proved, that he had something of that kind in view. The king, even before he received this letter from Oliver le Roux, began to entertain suspicions of his brother ; and to be the more certainly informed how matters stood, had sent du Bouchage into Guyenne, with orders to confer with Beaveau bishop of Angers, who was at that time with the duke. They were to act in concert, and if possible, discover whether the bishop of Montauban had been sent to Rome, to solicit the dispensation mentioned above. Du Bouchage was charged to make known the king's suspicions to the duke of Guyenne, and tell him, that in order to remove them, he must publicly declare, he had no intention either to demand or make use of the dispensation, and that he renounced for ever the alliance of the duke of Burgundy, the declared enemy of France ; upon these conditions the king was willing to renew all the former engagements with his brother, which had been sworn to upon the cross of S. Lo. This cross of S. Lo, was, it seems, the last seal of an oath in those days, and a frequent occasion of perjury.

Scarce was du Bouchage set out from Tours when Guyot de Chefney arrived there from the duke of Guyenne and Lescun, to propose a marriage between the duke and mademoiselle de Foix. The king wrote to du Bouchage, that he was no less displeased with this marriage, than with that of the heiress of Burgundy, and charged him to remonstrate openly against it : the duke he said might hope for every thing, even a participation of the royal authority, if he married with the king's consent, and absolutely renounced the alliances proposed to him.

Lewis

Lewis had no sooner dispatched this letter, than he received that mentioned above from Oliver le Roux. His uneasiness increased every moment ; he wrote continually to Bouchage, upon every fresh piece of advice he received ; and indeed, his suspicions were but too well founded. The duke of Guyenne had signed a blank for the treaty of marriage with Mary of Burgundy ; his proposals with regard to mademoiselle de Foix, were only a feint to cover his real design ; for he could never resolve to abandon the project of marrying the heiress of Burgundy, and to urge the duke to a speedier conclusion, intimated to him, that the king offered him his daughter Ann of France, with Roovergue, Angoumois, Poitou, Limousin, and other lands to a considerable value, besides five hundred lances, and the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The duke might probably magnify the king's offers ; but it is certain Lewis XI. dreaded nothing so much as the marriage of his brother with duke Charles's daughter. The greatest part of this year was spent in negotiations. The king intimated to Charles, that he was sincerely desirous of living in friendship with him ; that the tranquillity of Europe depended on their Union, and that he saw with regret, endeavours were used to create misunderstandings between them. Charles made answer, that to establish a solid peace, he must begin with the restitution of the towns unjustly withheld from him ; this he said would be a proof that he unfeignedly desired his friendship.

The king readily perceived that every thing tended to a war, and that there was a league formed against him. The duke of Britany had forbid any ships to sail out of his ports without convoy ; the count de Foix complained of the king, and endeavoured to exasperate the minds of the people against the government ; and the nobility of Roovergue seemed disposed

disposed to a revolt. Lewis was far from slighting the advices that came in to him from all parts; he issued out secret Orders to hold the troops in readiness, without however making them quit the towns where they were quartered; and sent Compain counsellor in parliament, and Raguel one of the secretaries, ambassadors to Sixtus IV. to prevent his granting a dispensation. It was urged to the pope, that they stood in too near a degree of consanguinity. He was moreover informed of what had passed with regard to the prince's Appennage, which was increased to above sixty thousand livres, tho', by the laws of the kingdom, it ought not to exceed twelve thousand: they added, that the duke had engaged solemnly by oath to renounce the alliance of Burgundy; that he had sent the count de Boulogne into Spain to espouse in his name, Jane the daughter of the king of Castile; that the ceremony had even been performed, and that engagements of so sacred a nature could not be broke, without drawing on an unjust war. The king intreated the pope, if he had already granted a Dispensation, to annul it; or if it was not yet granted, to give an expresse promise against it. As an acknowledgment for this service, Lewis engaged, never to permit the re-establishment of the pragmatick sanction, and offered to give his holiness all the security he could desire. The king demanded at the same time a cardinal's hat for Charles of Bourbon, archbishop of Lyons.

The duke of Burgundy resolved now to come to an open rupture, had empowered the bishop of Tournay, Arthur of Bourbon, and Carondelet, to conclude with John de Lucena, ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Sicily, prince and princess of Castile, a league offensive and defensive against the king.

The king of Arragon, Ferdinand's father, who had signed with Lewis XI. a treaty of neutrality in
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the wars between France and the states of Burgundy, engaged himself, by the present treaty, to declare for the duke of Burgundy against France. One cannot enough wonder at the little faith which reigned at that time among princes.

The duke of Burgundy having concluded and signed the league, published a declaration, importing, that all his estates were henceforward exempt from vassalage to the crown of France, because of the violation of the treaty of Peronne, wherewith he charged the king; he likewise prohibited his subjects from prosecuting any appeals before the court of parliament.

The king in all appearance knew nothing of this league, or the duke's declaration, which was not published till the 2,th of January the following year; for he sent word to la Tremouille and Doriale, who were at Charles's court, to conclude the treaty begun with Ferry de Clugny, by which these princes had agreed to aid one another mutually against all enemies whatsoever. By this treaty Charles abandoned the dukes of Guyenne and Britany, the dauphin was to espouse the heirefs of Burgundy; and if it so happened, that the marriage was not consumated, Charles however bound himself never to marry her to the duke of Guyenne. The king in like manner promised not to give him his daughter, and in consideration of the treaty, was to restore to the duke of Burgundy, Amiens, St. Quintin, Roye, Montdidier, and all the other towns taken during the late war. The two princes were moreover to receive the order of knighthood from one another; and it was added, that this was not merely a treaty of Peace, but of friendship, particular esteem, and brotherly affection.

Nothing could be more wisely projected than this scheme; but it was impossible to establish that mutual confidence which is the soul of treaties, between
two

two princes who made war upon one another more out of hatred than for reasons of *stâte*. The duke insisted upon having the towns delivered up to him before he sent the ratification, and Lewis pretended that the execution of the treaty ought to begin with this security. It was in order to adjust the above difference, that the duke of Burgundy conferred with la Tremouille and Doriote about the means of establishing peace, tho' he had but just concluded a treaty directly contrary to the tenour of that now under consideration.

Several ways of accommodation were proposed, but none agreed to: the king pressed the ambassadors to bring the affair to a speedy issue; but the duke still found means to raise new difficulties, and no progress was made.

Whilst the duke of Burgundy was thus amusing the ambassadors, all the king's other affairs were in a manner suspended, and those of Catalonia went very ill. John of Lorain had succeeded the duke of Calabria in the command of the troops, which made war in the name of René king of Sicily; but the army had not the same confidence in their new general, as in him they had lately lost. John of Lorain kept always upon the defensive, and aimed at nothing farther than preserving Barcelona, in which he shut himself up. The king of Arragon master of the field, soon obliged Gironne to surrender: the loss of this city drew after it that of several others, into which the king of Arragon put garrisons, who making incursions to the very gates of Barcelona, kept it in a manner blocked up. John of Lorain ordered Guerri to attempt a sally, but being repulsed by Alphonso bastard of Arragon, he escaped into the tower of Fabregua, where he was besieged. Don Dennis of Portugal sallying out at the head of six score troopers, and four thousand foot, to disengage Guerri, Alphonso of Arragon advanced,

firous to divert his fears by the multitude of projects he was continually forming. He sent Suplainville, vice-admiral of Guyenne, and Henry Malet baillif of Montfort, to press the duke of Burgundy to come to a speedy conclusion: they had orders to represent all the pretended grounds of complaint against the king; that it was manifestly his design to dispossess him of Guyenne; that he was preparing to enter it at the head of an army, and in the mean time endeavoured to draw him into his measures, by the most advantageous offers; (those namely mentioned above:) but that he was resolved to listen to no proposals, and preferred the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, to all the overtures that could be made him.

The king being informed of all the steps taken by his brother, sent la Tremouille, Doriole, and Oliver le Roux, to the duke of Burgundy, with new instructions, importing, that in order to remove all difficulties, it would be proper to refer the decision of their differences to six persons chosen on purpose; that he would name on his side, the constable, the bishop of Langres, and the president Boullanger, that the duke might chuse three others; and that if they could not agree, the final determination should be left to the cardinal Bessarion legate in France, or such other as the six arbitrators should jointly nominate. But the duke, instead of listening to an accommodation, still persisted in demanding the restitution of the towns taken from him. The king pretended, that he had a just title to them, and made a great merit of his offering to refer to arbitration, a right which he deemed incontestible: he furthermore offered to prolong the truce for three months, without however comprehending in it the dukes of Guyenne and Britany, or at least without inserting any written article to that purpose.

Mar. 22. The duke of Burgundy accepted the prolongation of the truce till the 15th of
of

of June, but insisted that the dukes of Guyenne, Britany and Calabria, should be expressly mentioned in it.

While these negotiations were carrying on at the court of Burgundy, the king was employed in putting his provinces in a posture of defence: he had some time before sent a herald at arms into Normandy, to signify to the duke of Britany, his surprize at the warlike preparations making in his dominions; that he was unwilling to believe the duke had any intention of breaking his engagements; but that if any such steps were taken, he would soon make appear to all christian princes, which was in the wrong. The duke made answer; *that he had never given the least ground for suspecting his fidelity, but always continued steady in his engagements with the king, though neither he nor his subjects found any benefit by it: that for his part, he granted the same privileges to the French as to his own subjects, whereas the Britons suffered all manner of oppression from the king; that their commerce was checked by unreasonable impositions, their estates ruined by confiscations, their ships taken on the open seas, and oft times insulted in their ports: that the king had endeavoured to persuade the Scots to make a descent upon Britany, and had even promised a grant of that duchy to the king of Scotland. As to the warlike preparations of which the king complained, he alledged, that it was no more than common prudence to put himself in a posture of defence, now that the truce was about to expire: in this he did nothing contrary to the faith of treaties, and if violent measures were pursued, he knew how to defend his honour; as was incumbent on every prince to do.*

The duke of Britany, after making this declaration to the heralds, charged Nicholas de Kermenon, and Souplainville, who had been sent to him by the duke of Guyenne, to go and inform the duke of Burgundy of what he had done, and to tell him at

the same time, that the duke of Guyenne had sent two written obligations, by one of which he engaged, to cause to be restored to the duke of Burgundy; Amiens, Roye, Montdidier, S. Quintin, and all the other towns detained from him, contrary to the treaty of Peronne; and by the other, promised to ratify whatever should be agreed to in the treaty of perpetual alliance he was desirous of concluding with the duke of Burgundy, upon condition that he fulfilled his promise relating to the marriage of his daughter, in which case the duke of Guyenne obliged himself to join him with his archers and arriereban. It appears by the instructions, that the duke of Britany had already made a declaration of nearly the same nature to the duke of Burgundy; he added upon this occasion, that he was soliciting Edward for a body of six thousand archers, and prayed the duke of Burgundy to concur with him in this request.

Lewis XI. was soon informed by a Spy he had in Britany, that the duke was preparing forces both by sea and land, and that his fleet was already in condition to sail from the ports of Brest and S. Malo. The duke of Britany's complaints in regard to the promise which he supposed Lewis had made to the king of Scotland, to put him in possession of Britany, had no other foundation than a commission given to Concessault, to press the king of Scotland, to equip as numerous a fleet as possible, and levy what troops he could in Denmark. The duke of Britany is not once mentioned in it, though it is not improbable Lewis might have designs which regarded that prince. Whilst the king was thus preparing for war, he ordered publick prayers to be put up for peace. As he

was particularly attached to the worship
May. of the blessed virgin, he enjoined, that every day at noon, the salutation should be thrice recited kneeling. This prince always restless and enterprizing, was offering up vows for
 peace,

peace, levying troops, negotiating, assembling an army, seeking to appease his enemies, and at the same time holding himself in a readiness for war. William Chartier bishop of Paris died about this time; a prelate who possessed in an eminent degree, all the virtues belonging to his function, adored by the poor, whose wants he relieved, and beloved by the people, whom he edified by his instructions. It were to be wished he had confined himself wholly to his ecclesiastical calling, and not meddled, as he sometimes did, with affairs, for which he had neither the requisite talents nor experience, and where his blind zeal was apt to transport him sometimes beyond his duty. When the confederate princes were before Paris, he was one of those who counselled admitting them into the city in the king's absence. His views tended to peace, but had his advice been followed, the kingdom was undone. Lewis XI. never forgot this proceeding of the bishop's, and as soon as he heard of his death, he wrote a letter to the mayor of Paris, wherein he laid open the grounds of complaint he had against that prelate, and insisted upon their being mentioned in his epitaph.

The duke of Guyenne began to be diffident of those who were about him. Princes are not always happy enough to have friends on whom they can rely; and it is but too common in their last moments to see them very little regarded. The duke having required a new oath of fidelity from his Gendarmes, many refused to take it. His servants and adherents finding that he declined daily, abandoned him, began to cast their eyes upon the king, and endeavoured to recover his favour. D'Archiac delivered up a place which he held for the duke of Guyenne, yet was but coldly received by the king: he had resolved to be revenged on d'Archiac, who had been guilty of the highest ingratitude in quelling him,

and was now returned only out of necessity. He wrote to du Chatel not to attack any fortified towns, because they might be compelled perhaps to restore them again, whereas they would all fall into his hands of course, if a peace was concluded. Shortly after, the king perceiving that it was in vain to rely upon the overtures made by the duke of Burgundy, wrote to du Chatel and Crussol, that he approved of the enterprize upon Rochelle, promi-

May 24. sisting to be with them instantly if it succeeded. But the duke of Guyenne's death quite changed the face of affairs.

That prince, by his will, owned the king for his heir, made him principal executor, asked his pardon for all the injuries he had done him, and declared that he sincerely forgave him on his side; he also requested him to pay his debts, and recompense his servants. The executors named in the will, besides the king, were Arthur de Montauban archbishop of Bourdeaux, Roland de Cosic his confessor, Mechineau his chaplain, Lescun, Malicorne, Roger de Grammont, and Lenoncourt.

It was confidently pretended by some, that the duke of Guyenne had been poisoned. Lescun, either desirous to remove all suspicions from himself, or out of concern for the loss of his master, or rather of his fortune, arrested the abbot of S. Jean d'Angrely, and Henry la Roche the prince's cook, both accused of being accessary to his death. He sent them into Britany, in order to be burnt alive, and even had the insolence to spread a report, that the crime had been committed by order of the king.

The duke of Burgundy published a
June 22. terrible manifesto upon this occasion: he accused the king of having in the year 1470, suborned Baudouin bastard of Burgundy, John d'Arson, and Chassa, to poison him; and pretended, that he had now by the like practices compassed

compassed the death of the duke of Guyenne. He charged him with the crime of high treason against the crown, the princes, and the state; and maintained, that it was their duty to unite all against him, as a parricide, heretick, and idolater.

As the king thought it unbecoming the royal majesty to make any answer to these invectives by an apology, he for some time took no notice of them; but fearing lest even his silence should be construed as a tacit acknowledgment of guilt, he appointed commissioners to set on foot a prosecution against the abbot of St. Jean, de la Roche, with such others as the duke of Britany should think fit to name. The commissioners nominated by the king were Helie de Bourdeille archbishop of Tours, the bishop of Lombez, John de Popaincourt, president in parliament, Bernard Lautret, president of Toulouse, Peter Gruel, president of Grenoble, and Roland de Cosic, originally of Britany, the late duke of Guyenne's confessor, who had before drawn up an indictment against the criminals during their imprisonment at Bourdeaux.

The king dispatched these commissioners with letters addressed to the duke of Britany, the chancellor Chauvin, and Lescun. He told them, that it ought to be equally the desire of all the princes, to discover, if possible, the truth of a charge of this nature, and bring the guilty to punishment; that it was of general concern to let none of the contrivers and accomplices lie concealed, or escape; and that though he might justly claim the cognizance of this cause himself, as both the abbot of St. John and la Roche were subjects of France, and had committed the crime in that kingdom, yet he readily consented to their being tried at Nantes; he further requested the duke of Britany, to nominate commissioners on his part, who might join in this enquiry with those he had sent. Besides these publick instructions, it

was in a particular manner recommended to the commissioners by the king, to do nothing but in presence of Roland de Cosic, who could not be suspected, as having attended the duke of Guyenne in his last moments, and afterwards retired into Brittany.

The king was desirous of having the process managed in the most publick and open manner; he insisted, that John de Chaiffaignes, president of Bourdeaux, who began the prosecution, and the archbishop's Vicar, should both be heard, that in interrogating the criminals, they should be questioned whether the king had any knowledge of the crime, or whether any endeavours had been used to induce them to accuse him; and that a faithful transcript of their answers should be sent him. The commissioners took with them two notaries, one was to carry the original depositions, and deliver them to the archbishop of Tours, in the presence of the duke of Brittany, to whom they were to be afterwards given by the archbishop. The commissioners had orders not to read their instructions to the duke but in full council, and the notaries were to take down his answer in writing, and insert in their verbal process, if he either refused to concur in the process, or was any cause of hindrance and delay.

All these precautions taken by the king, have not been sufficient to secure him against the aspersions of calumny, or prevent some from giving credit to what is related by Brantôme*, who wrote
long

* Brantôme was far from being an exact writer. He crowded together without choice, examination, or judgment, all the relations he could any where pick up. The desire of knowing and handing down to posterity, private memoirs and history, is a strong proof of credulity in the collectors; his pretended plainness and simplicity takes with some readers; for we are often apt to mistake
a certain

long after. He tells us, that he learned from an old canon, *that no body had ever suspected the share which Lewis XI. had in his brother's death; but that one day, as he was at prayers at Clergy, his fool overheard him ask pardon for the death of his brother, whom he had caused to be poisoned by the wicked abbot of Angrely.*

One cannot enough wonder at the oddness of the evidence upon which Brantome presumes to advance so cruel an insinuation, but in all times the malice of men has abundantly supplied what was wanting to the proof of ill-natured reports. Neither is it true, that Lewis XI. was never suspected of the duke of Guyenne's death, seeing the duke of Burgundy expressly charges him with it in his manifesto. Claudius Seiffel, the sworn enemy of Lewis XI. contents himself with saying, *many advance what yet I will not venture to affirm, that Lewis XI. caused his brother to be poisoned; but so far is certain, that he never had any confidence in him whilst he lived, and was far from being displeased with his death.*

Though the commission above-mentioned was not appointed till eighteen months after the duke of Guyenne's death (*viz.* the 22d of November, 1473.) yet I thought it best to relate at once all that concerns this affair*. It appears from what has been already

a certain antiquity and obsoleteness of stile, for the natural and undisguised in writing. Besides, but few pretend, that this unaffected and simple manner, is rather a proof of the sincerity of the writer, than of the truth of the facts he relates.

* A manuscript chronicle of those times informs us, that Lescun arriving in Britany, presented the criminals to the duke, with this speech; in vengeance for the duke of Guyenne, and for you my lord and sovereign, who have lost in him your dearest and best friend, and in regard that both you and he were my true and liege lords,

already said, that the duke of Guyenne was poisoned; that the abbot of S. Jean d'Angrely was the author of the crime; and that la Roche was an accomplice; but it is not so easy to discover who were the prime agents in this dark undertaking. Lewis by his brother's death was delivered from many dangerous factions and intrigues, but it would be very wrong on this foundation to suspect that he had a hand in it. His enemies had the criminals in their own power, and it is not to be doubted but they would have made their depositions publick, had there been any thing in them that charged this guilt upon the king. The abbot of S. John was accused of having poisoned the lady de Montforeau, and it was supposed to be at the instigation of Lescun her enemy, and jealous of her credit; but he could not have the same reason to wish for the death of

I here deliver into your hands the murderers of their lord and master, that they may be punished according to their deserts, and serve as an example to all who have abandoned themselves to such enormities. — The which injured duke, so little deserving of this outrage and martyrdom, now calls for justice on his murderers, and would in person require it at your hands, were it the will of heaven again to open his eyes, that he might see the endeavours I have used to procure due vengeance. Upon which the duke answered, they shall have the requital their crimes deserve, and I heartily wish, that they who hired them to this murder, were equally in my power, for they should never escape out of my hands, without giving security for their appearance, nor can I prevail upon myself to believe that any christian man would chuse to give security for them. He then commanded the criminals to be led to prison; and well guarded. The abbot was confined in a house in Nantes, which was guarded by Bertrand de Musilac, and la Roche was sent to Bouffay. After a long confinement, the abbot, conscious of his guilt, and dreading punishment, strangled himself in prison: as for la Roche, I know not what became of him.

of a prince, whose favour he enjoyed without a rival. It is probable the duke was poisoned without design, as it had not been foreseen, that he would eat (which in fact he did) the half of the poisoned peach presented to his mistress. If Lescun had employed the abbot to poison the lady de Montforeau, would he have ventured upon apprehending him? would he not have dreaded a discovery? perhaps the abbot, as being one of the faction, committed the first crime without a formal order, as not doubting but it would be grateful to Lescun, and a sure way of getting into his favour: perhaps too Lescun had him apprehended, only to remove from himself the suspicion of being an accomplice, while he privately endeavoured to bring him off, or at least to hinder his making any declaration to his prejudice. It is indeed very singular, that after so great a noise made about this affair, the abbot should be kept above two years in prison, without a possibility of proving his guilt, and that his accomplice should never more be heard of. 'Tis pretended the duke of Britany ordered the abbot of Angrely to be strangled, being in some fear lest he should accuse the king, to whom he was now reconciled. Perhaps too, the king having pardoned Lescun, was unwilling to push further the examination of an affair, wherein he might have been found concerned. However this be, there still remains an obscurity, which though it leaves no room to doubt of the crime itself, has thrown a veil over the principal authors.

Mean time Simon de Quingey arrived at court from the duke of Burgundy, to be present at the king's swearing to the observance of the late treaty; but as it was disadvantageous to him, and the duke of Guyenne's death had changed the face of affairs, he refused to confirm it.

The greater shew princes make of good maxims, the readier are they, for the most part, to break
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them. Lewis and the duke had constantly in their mouths that celebrated one of king John : If sincerity and truth were banished the rest of the earth, they ought to be found in the heart of kings, and yet both equally set themselves to deceive. The king wanted only to draw off the duke of Burgundy from the alliance of his brother ; and the great aim of the duke of Burgundy was to recover into his hands the cities of Amiens and S. Quintin. Quiney had orders to take Britany in his return, to prevent the duke's being alarmed upon hearing of a truce, which was intended only as a feint.

The duke of Burgundy finding that the king refused to ratify the treaty, took the field at the head of a numerous army, and encamped at Halbuterne, between Arras and Bapaume.

The king began by seizing the duchy of Guyenne. His brother's officers finding it their best course to make no matters with the king, emulously strove to regain his favour. Some came and offered their service, others sold it for the best price they could ; in fine, all followed the present career of fortune. The king was too wise to lose the present favourable opportunity, by an ill-timed severity, and therefore endeavoured to attach by kindness, those whom, in other circumstances, he would have punished severely. The same conduct he observed towards the cities ; he confirmed their privileges, and granted a general indemnity to all that had sided with the duke of Guyenne. He re-annexed to the crown the city of Bayonne, at the request of the inhabitants ; re-established at Bourdeaux the parliament, which had been transferred to Poitiers ; pardoned the citizens of Pezenas and Montaignac, who had revolted, and restored tranquillity to the kingdom.

The duke of Burgundy having passed the Somme, presented himself before Nesle. The governor at first defended it with great valour ; but finding that
it

It would be impossible to save the place, capitulated, and came out with Madam de Nesle to settle the articles. He returned soon after, in order to oblige the franc-archers to quit their military habits, according to the terms of the capitulation; but the besiegers entering at the same time, put all they met to the sword; they even massacred, without compassion, those who had taken refuge in the churches: the commandant was hanged, and such as escaped with life, had their hands cut off. The duke thirsting after blood in proportion as he shed it, ordered fire to be set to the city, and beheld it in flames with a barbarous joy, saying, *Such fruit bears the tree of war.* Some pretend to excuse the duke, alledging that the inhabitants of Nesle killed the herald who was sent to summon them to surrender, and fired upon the besiegers during the capitulation. Princes have always some about them mean and abandoned enough to excuse their most unjustifiable actions.

The duke marched immediately to Roze, and carried it in two days. The constable fearing lest the terror should spread, and communicate itself to the neighbouring towns, wrote to the king, who was upon the frontiers of Britany, to come to the assistance of Picardy. The king, nothing alarmed at the duke's Progress, contented himself with sending Dammartin to command jointly with the constable.

The duke of Burgundy, encouraged by his first success, presented himself before Beauvais. Instead of investing it, he made *June 27.* an attempt to take it by storm. The inhabitants defended themselves with great bravery, and William de Vallè coming up during the assault with two hundred lances, hastened to the attack, and by his timely assistance, finished the defeat of the Burgundians. Next day the marshal Rouault, Crusiol,

Cruſſol, de Beuil, Torcy, d'Eſtouteville his brother, Salazar, Mery de Coué, and Guerin le Groing, all brave and experienced officers, entered the town with three hundred lances. The city of Paris, ſenſible how much it was intereſted in the fate of Beauvais, ſent the baſtard of Rochechouard at the head of a company of croſs-bow-men, with ammunition of all ſorts. The conſtable and Dammartin dividing their troops, poſted themſelves on different ſides, but in ſuch manner that they might join in caſe of neceſſity. By this diſpoſition they were enabled to intercept the convoys of the Burgundians, to fall upon their detachments, and by cutting off their ſupplies of proviſion, ſoon raiſed a famine in the camp. The duke reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs by this management, reſolved to give a ſecond aſſault. To that end he or-

July 9. dered his artillery to play upon the gate adjoining to the Hotel-Dieu; and his troops having filled up the ditch, prepared to ſtorm the breach. D'Eſtouteville received them with great bravery. In the attack, which continued four hours, the Burgundians loſt upwards of fifteen hundred Men, and could the Gend-armes have ſallied, would probably have all been cut to pieces. But as the gates were walled up on that ſide, the precautions taken to preſerve the town, proved the ſecurity of the beſiegers. 'Tis ſaid that only four fell on the ſide of the beſieged. This check was a great diſcouragement to the enemy. Next day Salazar ſallied with a detachment, penetrated to the tents of the Burgundians, burnt ſeveral, and carried off ſome pieces of cannon: he loſt very few men in the action, but was himſelf dangerously wounded. Theſe ſallies, though ſucceſſful, very much weakened the beſieged. Application was made to the Pariſians for new ſuccours: the conſtable wrote that the king being reſolved, at all hazards,

yards, to save Beauvais, Paris ought to send thither her artillery, since the garison of S. Quintin was already too much weakened by detaching the men at arms.

Upon this a consultation was held amongst the principal Parisians, wherein it was alledged, that they had already rather exceeded in their supplies, it being of more importance to preserve the capital than Beauvais, and that the king, satisfied of their fidelity, would, no doubt, approve the prudent care they took of themselves. As Paris was thus unable to grant any fresh succours to those of Beauvais, the city of Orleans undertook it, and sent them powder, arms, and a convoy of provisions. Mean while the Parisians were providing for their defence, and raised a body of three thousand men, to be payed by the parliament, the chamber of accounts, and the city. The duke of Burgundy, fearing the total destruction July 10. of his army, raised the siege of Beauvais. He committed a great error at his first setting out, in not encamping between Paris and Beauvais, in order to cut off their communication. •

The king, willing to reward the fidelity and valour of the inhabitants of Beauvais, granted them and their successors the privilege of holding *Fees* and *mesne Fees*, without acknowledgment or fine. He exempted them from the ban and arriere-ban, and allowed them a guard of their own citizens, with exemption from taxes, and the liberty of chusing their own officers. As devotion had a great share in all the constitutions of these times, the king appointed an annual proceffion for carrying the relicks of St. Angadreme, to whom they ascribed the preservation of their city. In this ceremony the women were to walk before the men, in memory of their behaviour at the late assault, where the men were in danger of being repulsed, had not the women

men come to their assistance, headed by Jane Hachette. This heroine appeared sword in hand upon the breach, beat back the enemy, tore away the standard they were going to fix upon the wall, and tumbled him that carried it into the ditch. The king moreover permitted the women a full liberty with regard to ornament and dress, which makes it probable that there were then sumptuary laws subsisting; regulating the appearance and habit of the women.

The duke of Burgundy, to be revenged for his loss before Beauvais, marched into the country of Caux, destroying all with fire and sword. He took the cities of Eu and S. Valery, and advanced towards Dieppe; but the constable and Dammartin approaching, prevented his undertaking any thing against that town. Disappointed in this project, he wrecked his vengeance upon Longueville, which he reduced to ashes, and immediately went and encamped before Rouen. Mean while his army was in want of every thing, and began to mutiny; all his convoys were intercepted, and the garisons of Amiens and St. Quintin ravaged his country without opposition, carrying fire and sword wherever they came.

The duke was at length obliged to retire: in his retreat he took Neuchatel, and burnt several castles; he laid waste, with particular severity, the places belonging to the constable, either to be revenged of him, or with a design to bring him over to his party. The furious manner in which he made war, contributed to the ruin of his army, which could not any longer subsist in a country rendered quite desolate. The duke abandoned his own dominions to ravage those of his enemy; lost many of the best officers of his army, and, after all, derived no other advantage from the campaign, than the title of *Terrible*, which, in true Estimation, is rather a prejudice.

dice to a prince. The count de Rouffi made war on the frontiers of Champagne, with the same cruelty as the duke his master in Picardy. He took Tonerre, burnt Monfaugeon, and carried fire and sword into the country round Joigny, Troye, and Langres. The count Dauphine d'Auvergne determined upon reprisals, invaded Burgundy, and laid waste the country in the same merciless manner.

All the letters sent to the king by the several commanders of his troops, could not prevail upon him to quit the frontiers of Britany. The duke had lately signed a treaty with the English, in which Edward had engaged to make a descent upon France in the spring, or to send a lieutenant-general, with a body of troops sufficient to keep the field. The duke promised to furnish four hundred lances, and archers in proportion, to receive the English into his ports, and to supply them with all necessaries. The king was not minutely informed of all the particulars of the treaty; but knowing that there were designs of this nature on foot, and not willing to be longer amused with pretended offers, he entered Britany with his army. Chantocé surrendered immediately, Machecou opened its gates, nor did Ancenis hold out long. The king wrote to the constable and Dammartin, that he was determined to come to a battle, and hoped, in a very short time, to oblige the duke to hearken to reason. He told them, that he would soon be in a condition to send them a detachment from his army, requested them that till then they would put nothing to the hazard, but endeavour to harrafs the Burgundian army, and ruin it, if possible, by cutting off all means of subsistence.

The Britons beginning now to feel the evils of war, and seeing their commerce ruined, pressed their prince to hearken to the king's proposals. Des Essars, governor of Montfort, and Souplainville,
master

master of the household to the duke, began a negotiation. The greatest difficulty proceeded from the hatred subsisting between du Chatel and Lescun. The king loved the first, to whom he was under great obligations, and dreaded the second, who was, nevertheless, capable of doing him great service. This last motive was very powerful with Lewis XI. however, out of esteem for du Chatel, he acquainted him with his situation, and the reasons that obliged him to treat with Lescun. A truce for a year being signed, Lescun was restored to favour, and made governor of Guyenne and Blaye. The dukes of Calabria and Bourbon were comprehended in the truce, but with an express article, that their refusing to accept of this comprehension, should not release the duke of Britany from his present obligations. The king was to pay him sixty thousand livres, and restore the towns lately taken, Ancenis excepted, which he was to keep as a security for the performance of the conditions of the treaty.

The duke of Burgundy, as much harrassed, and a greater sufferer by the war, than even those whose dominions he had laid waste, was in like manner obliged to agree to a truce.

Sixtus IV. desirous to restore peace among the christian princes, sent cardinal Bessarion into France. This prelate was also commissioned to wait upon the dukes of Burgundy and Britany; but he had not time to put this design in execution, and contented himself with only writing to the two princes, which entirely destroys the story related by Brantome*.

Bessarion

* Brantome says, that Bessarion having repaired first to the court of Burgundy, before he came into France, Lewis XI. was greatly offended at it, and discovered his resentment, at his first audience, in taking him by the beard, and, addressing him in a wretched quibble, *Barbara græca genus retineat quod habere solebant*. Had Brantome been

Bessarion not succeeding in his embassy, died of grief on his return to Rome.

Mean while the king, willing to keep fair with Sixtus IV. gave orders to his ambassadors to sign an agreement proposed to him by the pope; but the university objecting to it, it was never registered in parliament, and therefore came to nothing †.

Galeas duke of Milan, finding that those who had been the king's most declared enemies, now sued for peace, began to be ashamed of appearing against a prince who had given him so many proofs of friendship; he offered to lend him fifty thousand crowns, and renew their ancient alliance. Lewis, always ready to sacrifice his resentment to his interest, readily accepted the offer of the money, wrote a letter of thanks, and *October.* concluded a new treaty with Galeas, in which all the foregoing treaties were confirmed, and whereby they mutually engaged, not to treat with any other prince but by joint agreement. As soon as the treaty was signed, Boletto, the duke of Milan's ambassador, declared to the king, that his master made him a present of the fifty thousand crowns he had lately lent him. The king, by way of acknowledgement, assured the duke, that he would require him to furnish no aid of men or money for three years.

The chancellor Juvenal des Ursins died this year. He had been counsellor in parliament, captain of the

been better informed, he would have told us, that the king's resentment was occasioned not only by the cardinal's being one of the commissioners whom he excepted against in the trial of Balue, but also his presumption in soliciting afterwards a pardon for the criminal

† This contract with the letters patents granted the 31st of October for engrossing it, are to be found in Pinson's edition of the *commentaire sur la pragmatique sanctionne*, p. 1052, &c.

66 *The HISTORY of LEWIS XI.*

the Gend-armes, lieutenant of Dauphiné, and bailiff of Sens. As he was a man of extensive talents, that qualified him for almost any office, Charles VII. advanced him to the dignity of chancellor. Lewis XI. upon his coming to the crown, was induced by the faction then at court, to lay aside Ursins, but restored him again for the good of the state, at the end of the war of the publick good. Peter Doriolle succeeded Ursins.

Amedeus duke of Savoy, died also this year. His piety rendered him worthy of being enrolled among the saints, but he was a prince only in name. The duchess Yolande Lewis XI's sister, who had all along governed in his name, was acknowledged regent after his death. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of Gaston de Foix prince of Navarre.

The birth of Francis duke of Berry, of whom the queen was delivered at Amboise in the month of September, would doubtless have been one of the most fortunate events of this year, had heaven thought fit to prolong his life. He died the following year. About this time too, the queen founded the nunnery of Ave Maria at Paris, of the order of S. Francis.

Lewis, who never lost any opportunity of engaging men of merit in his interest, took into his service this year Philip de Commines, so well known by his admirable memoirs, which have been a great assistance to me in the present work, and whose very faults have been of service, by obliging me to search into the records of these times with greater care. The king immediately gave him forty thousand livres, to purchase the lordship of Argenfon of the sieur de Montforeau, and further bestowed upon him the principality of Talmont. In the letters patents the king says of Commines; *who not deterred by the danger to which he was thereby exposed, gave*

as intelligence of every thing for our advantage in his power, and employed his good offices so effectually, that by his means especially we escaped out of the hands of the duke of Burgundy, at Peronne—and has often exposed his own life to manifest hazard to serve us.

I have already spoken of Commynes as a writer in the preface to this history, it remains that I consider him here as a statesman. The motives that induced him to quit the service of the duke of Burgundy are but little known. Some pretend that Commynes being out with him one day a hunting, when he was only count de Charolois, the young prince asked him to draw off his boots. Commynes readily obeyed, whereupon the count insisted, that he might also draw off his. Commynes was constrained to submit, and the count afterwards struck him in the face with the boot, saying, *scoundrel, how could you suffer your master's son to render you so mean a service?* from this accident, we are farther told, Commynes was ironically surnamed *la Tête bottée*, and that his resentment was the cause of his afterwards abandoning duke Charles. But not to be misled by so palpable a fable, 'tis probable that prudence determined Commynes to quit the service of the duke of Burgundy, as plainly seeing, that he had nothing to hope for from a prince, whose headstrong presumption was hurrying him on to ruin. But whatever motive might induce Commynes to desert his master's service, and go over to his enemy, it would be no easy task to justify him. It may be said, perhaps, that it was accounted lawful in those days, to pass from the service of a vassal prince, to that of his sovereign, and that history is full of the underhand practices of princes, to debauch one another's subjects. But this is a very faulty way of reasoning, and founded on a custom that equally establishes the right of a sovereign over the subjects of his vassal, and of a vassal over those
of

of his sovereign. The last is evidently false, and it would be very difficult to make good the other. Commynes acted very insincerely with the duke of Burgundy; the very letters patents investing him with the principality of Talmont are a proof of it. Nor did he act with more fidelity towards Charles VIII. If I examine the conduct of Commynes with so much severity, it is because men of his character, who know so well the full extent of their duty, are the less excusable for violating it.

Commines was justly accounted the most discerning statesman of his time: he had a great share in the confidence of two princes, to whose persons he attached himself, and yet was at the head of the government under neither. Lewis XI. knew how to make use of the service of men of merit, without admitting them to share his authority; he expected obedience from them, not advice; and courted their friendship, more with a view of drawing them off from his enemies, than of making use of them himself. As for the duke of Burgundy, he was of a character too impetuous to be governed, and Commynes was too wise to attempt it. There is a critical point of authority, to which a subject cannot arrive, but by an enterprizing boldness, of which men of caution and prudence are by no means capable.

The End of the SIXTH BOOK.

B O O K VII.

A CONTINUAL application to 1473.
 affairs of state, greatly impaired April 18.
 the king's health, inſomuch, that
 he apprehended he ſhould die before the dauphin was
 of age, and began to think of providing for the
 tranquillity of the kingdom, more neceſſary in a mi-
 nority, than at any other time: to that end, he
 endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of the neighbour-
 ing princes, and was thoroughly bent upon deſtroy-
 ing the remains of a faction, which if not timely
 prevented, might recover ſtrength, and throw the
 ſtate into confuſion. He ſent the chancellor Doriole,
 Cruſſol, and Lenoncourt, to repreſent to the duke
 of Britany, that all grounds of quarrel between them
 had ceaſed with the duke of Guyenne, and that it
 was now their mutual intereſts to live in peace.
 The king, to convince the duke of his ſincerity, or-
 dered one half of the ſixty thouſand livres ſtipulated
 by the truce to be paid him, ſurrendered up Ancenis
 to him, and conſtituted him principal for negotiating
 a treaty of peace, or truce, between France and
 the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Britany now thoroughly convinced
 of the king's good diſpoſitions, by the letters patents
 he had ſent him, diſpatched the Biſhop
 of Leon to treat of a truce with the duke Jan. 14.
 of Burgundy, in the name of the king.
 They ſoon agreed to confirm the former truces, and
 to conclude another, which was to continue till the
 1ſt of April 1474. It was moreover ſtipulated, that
 if any differences aroſe, they ſhould be terminated
 amicably by the conſervators, who were to aſſemble
 once

to retire into the castle. The taking of Perpignan drew after it the loss of almost all the provinces. Immediately upon the news of the miserable situation to which the French garison was reduced, Philip of Savoy entered Rouffillon, and encamped before Perpignan. The king of Arragon, tho' in his sixty-sixth year, was neither terrified at the approach of the French army, nor moved by the remonstrances of his generals, who entreated him to retire. He assembled the people in the church, and took an oath either to oblige the enemy to raise the siege, or perish in the attempt.

Nothing persuades more effectually than the example of the prince; danger disappears when he seems resolved to share it. The king of Arragon's resolution on this occasion, inspired his troops with the greatest courage; he distributed the posts among his officers, and reserved to himself a body of four hundred men, to assist whatever quarter should be attacked. The French meeting with greater resistance than they expected, contented themselves with blocking up the town in such a manner, that no convoys of ammunition or provisions could enter. It must soon have been reduced by famine, had not despair forced the besieged upon extraordinary attempts of valour. A party of them broke through the French army, and went as far as Elna for a supply of provisions. The king of Arragon gave the generals of the besiegers notice of the truce concluded between Lewis XI. and the duke of Burgundy, wherein he was comprehended by the consent of both parties. But this consideration would probably have availed little, had they not understood that Ferdinand king of Sicily was advancing at the head of the Arragonian army. The French, desirous if possible to make themselves masters of the town before its arrival, resolved upon a general assault. Four thousand men were detached for this purpose, under

under the command of Antony du Lau, and Rufec de Balzac. The assault was made with great vigour, sixty of the French forced their way into the town, but not being supported, were cut off to a man. Next day du Lau endeavoured to intercept one of their convoys: the besieged, sensible that their safety depended upon it, made a brisk sally, and so disordered the French, who found themselves between two fires, that all du Lau's endeavours to rally them were ineffectual. The fight was obstinate and bloody; at last however the convoy was introduced, and du Lau made prisoner. The French army thus weakened by sallies, and a sickness which raged very much in it, was at length obliged to raise the siege, and conclude a truce for three months. Lewis XI. was just returned to Amboise, when he received the news of the raising the siege of Perpignan. His vexation at this accident was still farther increased by the knowledge he had of the intrigues carried on at the court of Burgundy by René king of Sicily, and the duke of Calabria.

The duke of Calabria flattered himself with the hopes of marrying the heiress of Burgundy. René pretended to dislike this project of his grandson, though it was he himself that had suggested it to him. This conduct was the more unjustifiable, as the house of Anjou was under the greatest obligations to the king. Besides, the duke of Calabria had been at two different times engaged to Ann of France, the king's eldest daughter. The contract had been signed, the dowry twice payed, and they only waited till the princess should be of age, in order to consummate the marriage. Notwithstanding these so sacred engagements, the duke of Calabria was soliciting the heiress of Burgundy.

The king provoked by a behaviour so openly disrespectful, applied to the bishop of Chartres, and demanded in the name of Ann of France a moni-

tory, which was published, and notified to the duke of Calabria. The king had no thought of marrying his daughter to this prince, but he wanted to throw all the blame upon the house of Anjou. Though the duke of Burgundy had sent Montjeu, his chamberlain, to settle the articles with the duke of Calabria, it may notwithstanding be doubted whether he acted sincerely; nor can we positively say how this affair might have ended, as the duke of Calabria happened to die soon after. He was suspected to have been poisoned, and one was taken up upon an accusation of having given him the dose; so that nothing remained but to enquire after the first contriver of the crime; however, the affair was stifled, and no further mention heard of the prisoner.

The king had little reason to be concerned at the death of the duke of Calabria, but it was far otherwise with Francis duke of Berry, who died about this time, before he had attained a year compleat. Lewis XI. was so afflicted at this accident, that no body durst speak to him for some time; he received the news of it in the forest of Loches, and, as a testimony of his grief, ordered part of it to be cut down. A manuscript chronicle adds, *That such was his custom upon receiving any bad news, to change his cloaths, and every thing about him, even to the horse on which he rode. Indeed the king was more distinguished by his good sense, than any affectation or finery in dress.*

The king, desirous of concluding a firm and lasting peace with the duke of Burgundy, sent Andrew *de Spiritibus*, the pope's nuncio, to him. The duke received him with great marks of respect, but nothing was agreed on. The legate re-

OE. 13. turning to France, thundered out his ecclesiastical censures against which-ever of the two princes should refuse to consent to a peace. The duke of Burgundy warmly protested against this bull; he wrote of it to the pope, and accused

accused the legate of partiality. Lewis, instead of complaining against the bull, which in reality had been published in concert with him, ordered it to be registered; but the parliament, though desirous of peace, opposed it, representing, that the means made use of to obtain it, were of dangerous consequence, and inconsistent with the authority of the king, and laws of the realm.

The duke of Burgundy, not contented with accusing the legate of partiality, renewed also his complaints against the king; and the war would doubtless have been re-kindled with greater fury than ever, had not the duke, discouraged by the little success of his last campaign, been disposed to hearken to new projects,

Adolphus of Gelders had, for some years, kept duke Arnold his father, a prisoner. Arnold had often complained to the pope and the emperor of his son's inhumanity; at length Sixtus IV. and Frederick III. referred the decision of this affair to the duke of Burgundy.

The duke relieved Arnold from his confinement, sent for Adolphus to Hesden, and gave sentence much more in favour of the young prince than he had reason to expect. The duchy of Gelders and county of Zutphen, were adjudged the property of Adolphus, reserving only Grave, with a pension of six thousand livres to the father. Adolphus, however, complained loudly of this sentence, affirming, that he had rather fling his father head-long into a well, and himself after him, than consent to such an accommodation. Duke Charles, provoked at so unbecoming an answer, caused Adolphus to be apprehended, and confined in the castle of Courtray; and, in order to deprive him of all hopes, bought the duchy of Arnold for ninety-two thousand florins. Arnold dying five years after, disinherited his un-

Sept. 1.
1442.

worthy son, and confirmed the sale of his estates. Charles, willing to give this sale the most authentic form, held a chapter of his order at Valenciennes in May the following year. The chapter pronounced, that Adolphus being justly disinherited, the sale in favour of the duke of Burgundy was good and valid, and that he had a right to take possession of the duchy of Gelders, and county of Zutphen.

Charles knowing that the duke of Juliers had some claims upon these provinces, purchased them for fourscore thousand florins. He still, however, met with great opposition from the partizans of Adolphus. Nimeguen cost him a long and bloody siege, which so far exasperated him, that when the citizens were forced to capitulate, they could not obtain their lives, but at the earnest solicitation of the duke of Cleves, and were condemned to pay the fourscore thousand crowns still owing to the duke of Juliers. He also sent and had Charles, the son of Adolphus, seized at Ghent. It was, during the siege of Nimeguen, that the pope's legate came to wait upon the duke of Burgundy. The duchy of Gelders, and the country of Zutphen being reduced, the duke, under pretence of a religious vow, which was in those days frequently made use of as a cloak to cover the blackest designs, went to Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence to Luxembourg with intent to enter Lorain, which he had formed a project of seizing ever since the death of the duke of Calabria. The king, guessing Charles's intentions, had sent la Tremouille into Champagne with five hundred lances, and the arriere-ban and franc-archers of the isle of France, to have an eye upon the duke's proceedings, while he continued on the frontiers of Lorain. Yolande of Anjou, who, by the death of the duke of Calabria, her nephew, was become heiress of this duchy, had resigned it in favour of her

her son René, count of Vaudemont, who thereupon took the title of duke of Lorain. The duke of Burgundy found means to get possession of the person of the new duke; but the king, by way of Reprials, seizing a near relation of the emperor's, Charles, whose interest it was to make that prince his friend, restored the duke of Lorain to his Liberty, in order to induce the king to release the Person he had seized.

Charles having failed in his first project, endeavoured to over-reach René by *Oct. 15.* an artful treaty. They renewed the several treaties of alliance that had subsisted between their predecessors, consented to give each a free passage through the others estates, and concluded a defensive league against the king. It was moreover stipulated, that the duke of Lorain should commit the government of the towns which commanded the passes, to such persons only, as were willing to take an oath to the duke of Burgundy. That prince soon after took advantage of the treaty to march his troops into the county of Ferette.

There were few princes equal in power and extent of territory to the duke of Burgundy; he wanted only the title of king. The emperor Frederick III. had made him an offer of it, upon condition that he would marry his daughter Mary of Burgundy, to Maximilian, the emperor's son. To that end the emperor and duke had an interview at Treves, where an assembly was held of several princes of the empire. Charles demanded of the emperor, the titles of king and vicar-general of the empire; and the emperor insisted upon the marriage between his son and Mary of Burgundy, as a preliminary article. But as neither cared to bring themselves under the first engagement, nothing was resolved on; and though outwardly they treated one

another with the highest marks of friendship, they nevertheless parted in great disgust.

Mean while Lewis XI. applying all his care to the re-establishing of peace and tranquillity in the kingdom, resolved upon a journey into Alençon, that by his presence he might stifle any seeds of sedition, left there by the late duke. As he entered the town, a page and a lady of pleasure who were shut up in the castle, running to a window to see him pass by, pushed down a stone that chanced to be loose. It fell so near the king as to tear part of his robe; upon which he immediately crossed himself, and falling down, kissed the ground. He took up the stone, and ordered it to be carried with him to mount S. Michael, where it was laid up with the part of the robe torn away, in thankfulness for so narrow an escape. At the first noise of this accident, the citizens were struck with the greatest consternation, and expected nothing less than to see the town delivered over to be pillaged. But the king was more moderate than they expected, and ordering enquiry to be made, the page and lady were discovered, and after a few days imprisonment acquitted.

At mount S. Michael Lewis concluded a truce of ten years, and a treaty of commerce with the deputies of the hans towns.

The marshal de Comminges died about this time. He was first known by the name of the bastard of Armagnac or Lescun; he devoted himself to Lewis XI. while he was yet but dauphin, and from that moment knew no other interests but those of his master. The king, at his accession to the crown, made him a marshal of France, and count de Comminges. The marshal for some time hoped to gain an ascendant over the king, and govern him; but soon perceiving that Lewis was of a disposition to bestow favours without dividing his authority, he had

had the prudence to forbear those rash attempts, which end, for the most part, in the discredit of the prince, or ruin of the favourite.

After the death of the marshal de Comminges, the king conferred the government of Dauphine upon Crussol; who enjoyed it not long, for he died within a month. Crussol, always faithful to his prince, enjoyed a large share of favour, which indeed was due to his merit, and never abused to unworthy purposes. He was seneschal of Poitou, grand-master of the pantry to the king, and knight of the order of St. Michael. He was succeeded by his son James in the office of grand-master of the pantry. The government of Dauphine was given to John de Daillon, lord of Lude.

The king seeing the duke of Burgundy fully employed on the side of Germany, prepared to revenge the affront which his arms had received before Perpignan. He borrowed thirty thousand livres of John de Beaune, the dauphin's steward, and John Briconnet, superintendent of the finances; he provided great store of ammunition, levied new troops, and the army under the command of du Lude, advanced towards Rouffillon. The news of the march of the army, inspired the French who were shut up in the castle of Perpignan, with courage, and struck terror into the Arragonian troops. Indeed both were in want of every thing, and only supported themselves by the feeble condition of their adversaries. Zurita pretends there was a second siege, but in this he is mistaken, nor is it the only error we meet with in his relation, which is contradicted by a citizen who was in Perpignan at the very time, and several other authentick pieces.

All these preparations ended at last in a negotiation. The king of Arragon was desirous of recovering Rouffillon and Cerdagne, which he had pledged in the year 1462. Lewis XI. proposed the

marriage of the dauphin with Isabella the daughter of Ferdinand, prince of Castille, and king of Sicily; in consideration of which alliance, Lewis was to restore Roussillon and Cerdagne to the king of Arragon, upon payment of the three hundred thousand crowns for which they had been pledged. This marriage was probably proposed only verbally, or in private letters, for it is not once mentioned in the treaty of Perpignan. The treaty ran, that in order to put a stop to murders, conflagrations, and all the horrors of war, the king of Arragon, and the prince and princess of Castille, king and queen of Sicily on the one part, and the most christian king on the other, have agreed to a renewal of the treaty made in 1462. 1. His most christian majesty shall restore the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, immediately upon the king of Arragon's paying the three hundred thousand crowns for which they were mortgaged. 2. The king of Arragon shall name two persons, one of whom is to be chosen by the most christian king, to act in his name as governor-general of the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, after taking an oath of fidelity to both kings. 3. His most christian majesty shall name four persons, and the king of Arragon make choice of one of them, to be governor of the castles of Perpignan, Colioure, and such other places as the most christian king still possesses in Roussillon. 4. The governor-general, with the other governors of the towns of the two provinces, named as guarantees of this treaty, shall be discharged from all subjection to their lawful princes, and suffer nothing to be done contrary to the tenor of their reciprocal engagements. The several garisons shall be subject only to the governor-general, and the rest of the troops evacuate the towns in their possession. 5. The provinces shall be redeemed within the current year, and the governor oblige himself by oath to put the king of Arragon

gon in possession, immediately upon payment of the entire sum, which if not discharged before the expiration of the year, the governor shall restore the two provinces to the most christian king. 6. The kings of France and Arragon, with the king and queen of Sicily, are still at liberty to adhere to their old allies, and may succour them without infringement of the present treaty, which concerns only Roussillon and Cerdagne. It is needless to repeat here the other articles, they being only precautions to secure the execution of the treaty, which was signed at Perpignan by the king of Arragon, and sent by him to Lewis XI. who ratified it in presence of that monarch's ambassadors.

Sept. 17.

Nov. 10.

As soon as the king had terminated the affair of Roussillon, he began to think of marrying his two daughters, Ann and Jane of France, assigning each an equal dowry of an hundred thousand crowns of gold. The contract signed first, was that of Jane, the younger sister, and properly no more than a ratification of what had been transacted May 19, 1464, the year in which this princess was born, when Charles duke of Orleans demanded her for his son Lewis. The contract ran; that it was chiefly at the intreaty of Mary of Cleves duchess of Orleans, that the king consented to the marriage of his daughter Jane of France, to Lewis duke of Orleans.

Oct. 28.

We read but of few princesses so unhappy as Jane of France, if indeed that can be said of one possessed of so many amiable virtues. Lewis duke of Orleans, her husband, succeeding to the throne by the name of Lewis XII. upon Charles VIII's death, had his marriage pronounced null by commissioners appointed for that purpose, by the pope. The Prodiges which are mentioned as happening on the day in which this nullity was declared, are at least

a proof that it was deemed irregular. 'Tis thus that popular rumours may sometimes throw a light upon facts, and direct us how to form a judgment of them. Queen Jane sought consolation in religion, the sure asylum of the unhappy. Consecrating her whole life to God, she founded a nunnery, endowed it with sufficient revenues, and set herself as an example of virtue to those of that order *.

After

* Four reasons of nullity were alledged in the case of Lewis XII's marriage with Jane of France. 1. Affinity in the fourth degree. 2. The spiritual relation arising from Lewis XII's being godson of Lewis XI. Jane's father. 3. The violence which 'tis pretended Lewis XI. used to oblige Lewis XII. then duke of Orleans, to submit to the marriage. 4. Want of Consummation.

The two first reasons are by no means sufficient to invalidate a marriage, notwithstanding that pope Alexander VI's bulls admit the second as good. The third is destroyed by the Contract itself. And as for the fourth, some few Extracts from the verbal process for annulling the marriage, will enable us to judge of its validity. The title runs :

“ The verbal process of Philip cardinal of Luxembour-
 “ bourg and bishop of Mons, Lewis bishop of Albi, and
 “ Ferdinand Episcopus Septenis (*bishop of Ceuta*) com-
 “ missioners by virtue of two bulls of pope Alexander VI.
 “ containing the Grounds for annulling the marriage be-
 “ tween king Lewis XII. and Jane of France, with the
 “ sentence of the said commissioners, by which (seeing
 “ by the depositions of many witnesses it appears, that
 “ the king when duke of Orleans, was constrained by the
 “ menaces of king Lewis XI. and king Charles VIII.
 “ to give his consent to the said marriage, seeing the said
 “ Jane was incapable of matrimonial Commerce, *quod*
 “ *esset à natura imperfecta, corpore viciata & maleficiata,*
 “ *non apta viro,* and they stand related in the fourth de-
 “ gree) they pronounce the said marriage null, with per-
 “ mission to the king to marry again.”

The first bull bears date the 29th of *July*, the second the 31st of *August*, and the sentence of nullity given in the
 parochial

After the marriage of Lewis of Orleans and Jane of France, the king concluded that of Ann his eldest daughter, with Peter de Nov. 13. Bourbon, sieur of Beaujeau.

Lewis

parochial church of St. Denis at Amboise, the 17th of December 1498.

The process was begun at Tours on the 18th of August, by the publication of the first bull. On the 29th of the same month Antony de Lestang (*de Stagno*) doctor of law, and proctor for the king, preferred his suit, and opened the plea of nullity before the commissioners. After a display of the arguments taken from their affinity, spiritual relation, and the pretended violence, he says, when he came to the fourth reason, that the queen being *corpore viciata & maleficiata, non apta viro, sicque non potuisset & non posset concipere, semen virile secundum congruentiam naturæ recipere, imo neque à viro intra claustra pudoris naturaliter cognosci, prout ex aspectu sui corporis judicare poterit; unde cum præsumptum matrimonium fuisset contra fines & bona matrimonii, ac intentionem principalem ejus non tenuit ipso jure*, the marriage was of consequence legally null.

Queen Jane's council, consisting of Marc Traners official of Tours, Robert Salomon provincial of the Carmelites, and Peter Bourelli advocate, answered at their first hearing on the 6th of September, that affinity in the fourth degree, and the spiritual relation alledged, were not sufficient reasons of nullity; that moreover the cardinal of S. Peter *ad vincula* legate à latere in France, had granted a dispensation; that no force or constraint had been used; & *quod ipsa est habilis ad amplexus viriles, & fuit carnaliter cognita à rege*.

In the course of the trial, the queen being questioned, whether she had not some natural defects unusual in her sex, answered, *I know that I am neither so handsome, nor well shaped as the greater part of my sex, but I have no imperfection that renders me unfit for marriage*. Being asked, whether she would submit to be inspected by some midwives, she said, she would think of it, and act agreeably to the rules of the church. Altho' the examination

was

84. The History of LEWIS XI.

Lewis wished for nothing now, but to conclude a peace with the duke of Burgundy; however, he found many difficulties in the execution of this design. Several conferences had been already held to

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was in Latin, it concludes, however, with a protest conceived in these terms, which the queen presented to the commissioners. *Messeigneurs, je suis fremme, ne me cognoys en proces, et san tous autres affaires me deplait l'affaire de present. Je vous prie me supporter, si je dis ou repand chose qui ne sois convenable, et proteste que si par mes réponses, je repends à chose à laquelle ne soye tenuz repandre, ou que monseigneur le roi n'ait escrit en sa demande, qua ma réponse ne me pourra prejudicier, ne profiter, à monseigneur le roi, en adberant à mes autres protestations faites pardevant vous à la dernière expedition, et n'eusse jamais pensé que de cette matiere eut pu venir aucun proces entre monseigneurs le roi et moi, et vous prie messeigneurs, cette presents protestation estre inserée en ce pra sent procès.*

The king finding that queen Jane and he did not agree in regard to facts, insisted upon information's being taken by witnesses, and the queen's being examined by a jury of midwives. Jane refused to submit, alledging modesty as an excuse, and that it was besides needless, seeing the king, *eam diversis vicibus carnaliter cognovisset*, and had treated her as his Wife, *in lecto & alias*.

There was a long course of pleading on this subject; but the queen persisting in her refusal, offered at length to refer it to the king's oath, declaring at the same time that she gave in her defence with regret, and purely to quiet and discharge her conscience, which no prospect of wealth or grandeur could otherwise induce her to, requesting the king her husband, whom it was her desire in all things to please without offending her conscience, not to be displeased with her. She added, that the king could upon no pretence alledge, that he had been constrained to consummate the marriage, *licet in muliere carnalis copula possit esse coacta, secius tamen est in viro à quo de jure non præsumitur per mulierem violenter extorta*: that the king came to see her at Lignieres, where he sometimes spent ten or twelve Days, and that there, *cum eadem per noctabat, solus cum sola, nudus*

no purpose at Senlis and Compeigne. The duke would hearken to no proposals till Amiens and S. Quintin were restored, and the king was unwilling to part with these towns, as they served to cover the

dus cum nuda, debitum conjugale per carnalem copulam reddendo, visus, oscula, amplexus, ac alia signa appetitiva experientiae copula conjugalis, imo etiam veracis copulae, prout decet inter conjuges, aperte manifestando. Cum ipse ex lecto conjugali surgeret, pluries dixit, & se jactavit coram pluribus, quod necesse habebat bibere & gentare, eo quod ipsam ter aut quater cognoverat carnaliter, dicendo verbis gallicis : J'ay bien gaigné a boyre, parce que j'ay eb—ma femme la nuit trois ou quatre fois. That the king had acted the husband several times since the death of Lewis XI. that he had never protested against his marriage to the estates of Tours, and could not plead the pretence of being restrained by fear, inasmuch as he had often complained of errors and abuses in the government, to the parliament, to the university, and to the whole body of the citizens ; that he had revolted from Charles VIII. and yet, during all that time lived with her as her Husband ; that she ought not to be looked upon as incapable of having children, since many Women, who could not claim any Advantage over her, either in Complexion or Make, had proved Mothers ; from all which she concluded, that the king's demand ought to be over-ruled, and the marriage declared good and valid.

To this the king replied by his proctor, that he had never protested against the marriage in the assembly of the estates at Tours, because neither the time nor place would safely allow of it ; but that he had done it in Britany, whence he had even sent to Rome for that purpose. As a proof of the violent methods used by Lewis XI. the king produced a letter written by that prince to count Dammartin, where he says,——*I have resolved to marry my youngest daughter Jane, to the young duke of Orleans, and dare believe their children will cost no great sum in bringing up. You are to know, that I assuredly expect to bring this match about, otherwise, whoever pretends to oppose it, will hardly be able to find any place of safety in my kingdom.*

the frontiers of Picardy. During these disputes, the constable seized St. Quintin, under pretence of hindering the duke of Burgundy from getting possession of it; but his real design was to establish there

kingdom. But there is great reason to doubt, whether this letter was authentick, especially when we consider the precautions taken to prove by a multitude of witnesses, that the signature was the king's, and the counter-signature Tillart's. Besides, how was it possible to foresee she would be barren, when she was only two months old at the time of her being contracted? As to the consummation of the marriage, which the queen urged, *pro suo clypeo tam reiteratis vicibus*: the king answered, that he had treated her as his wife only to dissemble his discontent and secure peace.

It is observable, that the king shewed some reluctance to affirm upon oath, what had been advanced by his proctor; but the queen still insisting upon it, he consented at last, and expressly denied whatever she had said. The examination was in *Latin*, but the king's answers are in *French*.

We find at the end of the trial, a particular account of the names and depositions of the witnesses. Their number is very great, and they say almost all the same things: that Lewis XII. and Jane of France, stand related in the fourth degree; that there is besides a spiritual alliance between them, as that prince was Lewis XI's godson; that Lewis XII. then duke of Orleans, had been constrained to marry Jane; that Lewis XI. had made several of these forced matches; that the duke of Orleans had never had any affection for his wife, and retired from her into Brittany, in the Reign of Charles VIII. where he protested against the violent means by which he had been constrained to marry: that there proposals had been made to him concerning a marriage between him and Ann of Brittany; that he had sent to Rome to demand the annulling of his first marriage: that during these transactions, the duke of Orleans had been made prisoner at the battle of S. Aubin, was kept above two years in confinement, and treated with the utmost rigour, by order of Charles VIII. that

there a kind of sovereignty. The king thought fit to dissemble his resentment for the present, out of fear lest the constable should surrender up the town to the duke of Burgundy.

Charles

that the princess Jane came and visited her husband, did him all the good offices in her power, and at last procured his release.

In the seventeenth article of the examination, which concerns the want of consummation, and which is repeated in almost all the particular questions, the witnesses depose, that they know, or have heard it said, the princess Jane was never agreeable to her husband. Some affecting to commend her good qualities, allow her to be beautiful, but they all agree, that she was unhappy in her person; that the duchess dowager of Orleans had examined her naked, and found *vas naturale arctum cum retractione ex uno latere & uno osse impediante*. Salmon de Bombelle, Lewis XII's Physician, and last deponent, added, that the king had said to him, *je soys le grand diable oncques a ma vie je ne la ch— naturellement comme un autre femme, et quando volebat cum ea coire, inveniebat quandam tortuositatem in orificio vulvæ, adeo quod virga ejus non poterat ingredi, sed calefciendo se, mittebat semen inter seu supra crura ipsius dominæ Joannæ*.

All these depositions, as well as those of the king himself, serve to prove, that Jane was naturally barren, and incapable of having children; not that the marriage, as was pretended, had never been consummated. I thought proper to give this extract of the verbal process, both as it is in itself curious, and seems not to have been known by the generality of our historians, at least they take no notice of it; as if history, which ought to be the depository of truth, could be wounded by the mention of any thing that tends to illustrate it. Timorous writers, by their silence, often give occasion to suspicions, which might be prevented by a true and natural recital. Lewis XII. having obtained the annulling of his marriage with Jane of France, espoused Ann of Britany, Charles VIII's widow. This princess was generous and sincere, but at
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Charles having signed a truce with France, only that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against Germany, seized Montbeliard, and made the duke of Wirtemberg prisoner. Emboldened by success, and rendered only more impatient by obstacles, he enjoyed not a moment's repose, but was forming

projects of extending his power from
Decem. sea to sea. After a declaration in which

he disclaimed all homage and dependance on the king, he established a parliament at Mechlin, where all the affairs of the low countries were finally decided; and so far was he from observing any measures with the king, that before the expiration of the truce, he entered Rivernois in a hostile manner. The king immediately dispatched some troops towards that province, who put a stop to the progress of the Burgundians, and recovered the towns they had taken. At the same time he wrote to his ambassadors to acquaint the conservators that he expected reparation of the damages done in Rivernois.

While the king was thus employed in preventing, or opposing the designs of the duke of Burgundy, he met with no little trouble from a kind of domestick war, which was very interesting in those days, though now it must appear ridiculous in the highest degree, if ever any thing did so among Men. The dispute between the nominalists and realists, at this time divided the schools. Indeed the reigning philosophy has ever been adopted and made a part of the received system of theology. In the first ages of the church, the Platonic principles had the ascendant among divines, as in latter times the

the same time imperious and rigid, and gave an evident proof of the great ascendant which persons in power have over those about them, inasmuch as at her court, virtue became fashionable.

the notions of the Peripateticks have prevailed. Under Lewis XI. the realists and nominalists formed the leading dispute, for the schools can never be without some one or other; and it is generally then managed with the greatest heat and contention, when the question turns wholly upon words. Neither seems to have known what they would be at; and yet they failed not to brand one-another with the name of hereticks. False philosophy is ever turbulent and head-strong, and the managers of scholastick disputes have been remarkable for always drawing in religion into the contest, in order to introduce ecclesiastical power and the secular arm. Any point, wherein religion was concerned, seemed to Lewis XI. highly worthy his attention. He dreaded divisions in the state; and for this reason published a declaration, forbidding any one to read the books of Ockam, Arimini, Baridan, and a great number of other authors, whose names, as well as their works, are at this day wholly unknown.

Next to religion, the affairs of commerce engaged the notice of the king. France at this time abounded much in foreign coins, which tho' of a standard below the current money of the kingdom, were nevertheless received as equal in value. This encouraged strangers to melt down all the French pieces that came in their way, which, being coined a-new, were afterwards introduced into the kingdom, much below standard. This abuse was remedied by an ordinance, enjoining that foreign coins should be henceforth rated according to their standard and weight.

Lewis this year made some new regulations in the affairs of his household. He augmented his guard of hundred archers, under the command of John Blosset: this was the first establishment of the French companies of life-guards.

This

This year died Charles count du Maine, brother of René, king of Naples, and of the queen-mother. He enjoyed a large share of power under Charles VII. and had even been in great credit in the beginning of Lewis XIth's reign; but becoming suspected in the war of the publick good, the king, who valued his subjects for their fidelity and services, and not for their birth, deprived the count du Maine of all his places at court. This prince's disgrace was the more mortifying, as the king punished him sufficiently by only withdrawing his favour, for he did not fear him enough to push his resentment farther. The count du Maine may serve as an example, to prove, that under a powerful monarch the most considerable of the grandees shine only with a borrowed lustre; their whole existence, and the figure they make, depends upon the favour shown them, and they fall into obscurity, as soon as their master ceases to regard them with an eye of distinction.

The beginning of this year was remarkable for a conspiracy of the most
1474. Easter, heinous nature. The king offering
Apr. 10. a pardon, a place at court, and a pension to Ithier Merchand, the late duke of Guyenne's steward; Ithier sent John Hardy, one of his domesticks, to court, under pretence of hearing the king's proposals, but with secret instructions from his master to poison him. Hardy communicated his design to one of the officers of the kitchen, whose name was Colinet de la Chenaie, offering him twenty thousand crowns to poison the king. Colinet pretended to accept of the offer, took the poison, which he carried immediately to the king, and made a discovery of the whole.

Jan. 20. Hardy was arrested. The king left the conduct of the process to Gaucourt, governor

governor of Paris, with the other officers and magistrates of the city, assisted by the first president, and the mayor. The trial lasted above two months. I have seen a decree of court, ordering that Hardy should be a second time put to the torture, in order to draw from him a discovery of his accomplices. He was at length condemned *Mar. 30.* to be quartered, and drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution. His head was fixed upon the end of a lance, and set up before the town-house, the trunk of his body was burnt, and his limbs were fastened to stakes in four frontier towns. The decree for his punishment mentions no other accomplice but Ithier, who fled. There is nothing said of the duke of Burgundy, though several historians tell us, that he had promised fifty thousand florins of gold to those who should poison the king. What may have contributed to inflame the suspicions against the duke of Burgundy is, the little probability that Ithier would have rejected the advantageous proposals made him by the king, and resolved upon poisoning him, had he not been supported by some powerful interest; nor was there at that time any, beside the duke of Burgundy, whose hatred was so open and avowed, as to leave room for suspecting them of counselling such a crime. Lewis enobled Colinet, made him master of his household, and gave him the lordship of Castra. This grant being disputed with his heirs, by some of those abject wretches, who think they serve kings by robbing their subjects, Francis I. confirmed it.

The duke of Burgundy was so little disposed to peace, that the plenipotentiaries, at their conferences, could agree upon nothing farther than a prolongation of the truce till the first of May of the year following. The princes comprehended in the last truce, were in like manner included in this, with a clause, obliging them to declare within three months,

months, whether they acceded to the treaty. This restriction gave rise to many difficulties afterwards, on account of the disputes between Lewis XI. and the king of Arragon.

Lewis had nothing in Roussillon but the castle of Perpignan, la Roque, Bellegarde, and Colioure. The king of Arragon fancied that Lewis, weary of the war, would at length yield up these places, without demanding the three hundred thousand crowns. To that end he sent ambassadors to the king, to propose a treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Isabella, daughter of the king of Sicily.

Neither the king of Arragon nor Lewis XI. had any real design of concluding this marriage. The one was contriving how to get possession of Roussillon, the other how to prevent it; and both considered the treaty only as a snare to deceive, resolving to explain it in such manner as best suited their interest.

The king being at this time on the frontiers of Picardy, had left a council, composed of the chancellor, Tristan bishop of Aire, the count of Candale, and the protonotary John d'Amboise. The ambassadors addressed themselves to this council, and complained, that the king of Arragon had not been comprehended in the truce, in terms equally express as the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, seeing they had all three the same interests; namely, added they, to oppose the king's usurpations. They carried the same complaints to the council of state, and put them in mind of the treaty of 1462, by which the king of France stood bound to reduce Catalonia.

There was a great deal of reason in what the ambassadors alledged. They could not, indeed, deny, that had the French troops reduced Catalonia, Roussillon and Cerdagne ought then to have remained with France, till the payment of the three hundred thousand crowns; but they might object that Catalonia

lonia was not yet subdued; nay, Lewis had even furnished the duke of Lorain with troops against the king of Arragon.

The answer of the council was not so properly a vindication of the king's conduct, as a recrimination. They reproached the king of Arragon with suffering his troops to commit hostilities even in Languedoc itself; that by his orders Calla Luna had lately surprized the castles of S. Felix, Riotar, and Cerdagne, in which last he had hanged Jehannot the commandant; that ambassadors had been sent only with design to amuse the king, and with instructions, to conclude nothing but with the approbation of the duke of Burgundy, a declared enemy of peace.

While the ambassadors of Arragon continued at Paris, the king resolved to come and spend some days in that city, in order to give them an idea of his power by a muster of the militia, and trained-bands. They amounted to near an hundred thousand men, all well armed, with a fine train of artillery. The king afterwards invited the ambassadors to supper, and made them a present of two golden vases, weighing twenty pounds. He ordered them to be treated with all possible marks of honour; but to avoid a negotiation, in relation to affairs which there was no probability of deciding, he left the city within a few days, and spent some months on the frontiers of Picardy.

The ambassadors finding that the difference between the king of France and their master, was not like to be terminated without coming to blows, set out on their return to Arragon: but they were stopped at Pont-Saint-Esprit, and brought back to Lyons. They complained loudly of this violence offered to publick ministers. It was answered, that nothing was intended by it but their own security, as it was necessary to prevent any insults from being offered

offered them by the commanders on the frontier, and knowing from them which was the safest rout. The reasons offered afterwards for detaining them, were by no means satisfying, it being manifestly the king's intention to hinder their return till his troops had taken possession of Rouffillon. The roads were so well guarded, that the king of Arragon could receive no notice from his embassadors of what passed. However, understanding that the French army had entered Rouffillon; he wrote of it to the king, requesting, at the same time, that hostilities might cease. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy declared, that the king of Arragon was comprehended in the truce. Lewis's answer to the two princes was conceived in very obscure and mysterious terms. He pretended, that the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia belonged of right to him, as heir and *donée* of queen Mary of Anjou his mother, to whom they had been ceded by her contract of marriage; that his mother was the daughter of Yolande of Arragon, the eldest daughter and heiress of John I. king of Arragon. That queen Mary was Yolande's daughter, was certain; and had she been her only daughter, the king's claims would not have been without foundation; but there were several brothers, two of whom survived her. Thus the king's whole title rested upon the pretended donation made to the queen his mother by her contract of marriage, and the cession of that grant to him: as if kingdoms might be transferred from one to another without consulting the people, or subjects were slaves to be exchanged in the way of commerce. The king's pretensions to Rouffillon and Cerdagne were better founded: they had been mortgaged to save the queen of Arragon, and preserve the kingdom from the imminent danger with which it was threatened, when the French raised the siege of Gironne. Lewis added, that the last treaty with the king of Arra-

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gon was intirely independent of the truce, referred the decision of his pretensions to the duke of Britany, and sent the chancellor Doriole to lay them before him.

The duke answered, that the truce having been concluded with a view of bringing about peace, all violent methods, under what pretence soever, were to be considered as direct violations of it; that when the ambassadors of France declared at the congress of Compiègne, that the king would not suffer Roussillon and Cerdagne to be comprehended in the truce, the plenipotentiaries of the duke of Burgundy remonstrated against it, as an exception that their master would not so much as hear of; and in fine, that the king at that time made no mention of any claims to the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia, which it would be time enough to examine, when they came to settle the terms of a general peace.

The king not obtaining from the duke of Britany the favourable decision he had hoped for, ordered his army to enter Roussillon, under the command of du Lude, Yvon du Fau, and Boufile-le-Juge. The campaign was opened with the siege of Elna. This town was defended by Bernard d'Olms, whom the king had constituted governor of Roussillon. The king of Arragon endeavoured in vain to throw succours into the place; the siege was pushed on with such vigour, that it was obliged to surrender at discretion, and the governor was by the king's order beheaded.

While Lewis was thus carrying on the war briskly against the king of Arragon, he avoided all grounds of quarrel with any of the neighbouring powers; and even refused to enter into a league proposed to him by the Emperor against the duke of Burgundy.

The king was still more attentive to prevent any troubles within the kingdom. Inflexible to those
who

who had the boldness to oppose his authority, he gave a remarkable proof of his severity at Bourges.

A tax had been laid upon the inhabitants for repairing the fortifications of the city. The levying of this was attended with an insurrection, in which the farmers of the imposts had been cruelly abused. The clergy and principal inhabitants willing to prevent the king's vengeance, by doing justice themselves upon the criminals, met to deliberate how they were to proceed in the affair: but Lewis not relishing tedious formalities on these occasions, appointed a commission consisting of men of the sword and gown, and sent them to Bourges with a guard of cross-bow-men, to procure them the greater respect. Du Bouchage, who was at the head of the commission, had orders to make a strict search after the criminals, without regard to privileges or immunities, and not to spare even the archbishop himself, if he was found guilty.

Du Bouchage conformed exactly to his master's intentions, without however exceeding the bounds of justice. The most guilty were executed, and the rest banished or fined. The king also changed the form of government in the city, appointing a Mayor and two Sheriffs, the nomination of whom he reserved to himself.

Lewis resolved next upon an example of greater terror in the person of the constable. Chabanes de Curton, governor of Limousin, and John Hubert, who was afterwards bishop of Evreux, were at this time at Bouvines, negotiating a peace with Hugonet and Imbercourt. The chief article of their instructions was to offer S. Quintin to the duke of Burgundy, and all the lands belonging to the constable, upon condition, that he would deliver him into the king's hand. The bargain was upon the point of being concluded by Imbercourt, sworn enemy of the count of S. Pol, ever since he gave him the lie
in

conference at Roye ; to which, tho' Imbercourt
 erer with great moderation, yet his resentment
 only suspended for the present ; for, as will ap-
 he never afterwards forgave the affront.
 The constable, informed of what was transacting
 ast him, wrote to the king, and demanded an
 view, threatening otherwise to throw himself
 the arms of the duke of Burgundy. The king
 ng the consequences of a refusal, accepted the
 view, and wrote to his plenipotentiaries to re-
 the writings to the duke of Burgundy's ambaf-
 rs, and withdraw their own articles. S. Pol
 self settled the conditions of their meeting, and
 as appointed to be at a bridge, between la Fere
 Noyon. The constable came first, having a
 ifs under his coat, and attended by three hun-
 men at arms. The king not appearing for some
 , made an apology for staying so long ; and the
 table on his side, excused himself for coming in
 , pretending, that it was out of fear of his ene-
 Dammartin. The king feigned to be satisfied
 his excuses ; the constable promised to serve
 faithfully, and afterwards passed the barrier,
 came over to the other side. Lewis received
 favourably, and reconciled him to Dammartin,
 is, he obliged them for the present mutually to
 mble their hatred. Kings seldom heartily for-
 a man they fear. Lewis's thoughts were now
 lly taken up in contriving means to destroy a
 et, that was become too powerful, and had
 med to treat with his master as if he had been
 equal. The king chose to remain in Picardy,
 ng the duke of Alençon's trial at Paris. This
 ce, by his repeated treasons, had rendered him-
 unworthy of a pardon ; impunity only embold-
 him to commit new crimes. Ungrateful by
 ire, habituated to guilt, factious and intriguing ;
 was destitute of every virtue, nor any otherwise
 OL. II. F distinguished

distinguished than by his quality of prince of the blood, which served but to render him more inexcusable. The king, weary of exercising a clemency, which by being often repeated, was become injurious to his dignity, and dangerous to the state, had ordered the duke of Alençon to be apprehended, upon an information of his designing to pass over to the duke of Burgundy, and sell him all his possessions in France. The parliament was empowered to

bring him to his trial, and passed a decree, declaring him guilty of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors, for which he was condemned to lose his head, *referring it however to the good pleasure of the king, to suspend or execute the sentence.* All his estates were confiscated, but the king restored them in great measure to the count du Perche his son.

While the king was thus employed in punishing or bringing back to their duty his rebellious subjects, the duke of Burgundy was projecting a new league against him. He had formed a design of extending his frontiers on the side of Germany, and apprehending that the king would endeavour to oppose him, resolved to raise up an enemy against him, that would be abundantly able to cope with him. He concluded a league offensive and defensive with Edward king of England, by which it was agreed, that they should unite their forces to dethrone Lewis XI. The English were to make a descent in Normandy or Guyenne, and the duke was to join them with his whole strength, in order to recover these provinces, and compleat the conquest of the rest of the kingdom. As this league was against both the king and the kingdom, it was expressly stipulated, that they were to make war against whatever prince possessed the crown of France. The two contracting potentates were to command each an army in person, and act separately and independently, unless
necessity,

necessity, or the common cause should oblige them to unite. If either of them could not head his army in person, the general to whom he entrusted the command, was to be subject to the prince who was at the head of his own forces, and both armies were to obey him as general in chief. No peace was to be concluded but by mutual agreement. The king of England yielded to the duke of Burgundy Champagne, the county of Nevers, the cities upon the Somme, and all the lands of the constable, reserving to himself, however, the privilege of being crowned at Rheims *.

Though the king did not know precisely the tenor of this treaty, he was, notwithstanding, sensible from Edward's and the duke of Burgundy's preparations, that they had some great enterprize in view. These suspicions were confirmed by advices from the king of Scotland, who having been solicited to enter into the league, sent Lewis an account of his refusing to listen to any propositions contrary to the alliances and good understanding, that had ever subsisted between the crowns of France and Scotland. At the same time he begged of the king, permission to pass through France, in a pilgrimage he intended to make to Rome. Lewis immediately commissioned Meny Peny his chamberlain, to go and thank the king of Scotland, and represent to him, the inconveniencies that might attend a voyage to Rome in the present juncture; when the necessity of affairs so plainly called him to watch over the security of his kingdom and allies: But that if, notwithstanding these reasons, he still persisted in his design of a pilgrimage to Rome, and of passing thro' France for that purpose, he should have all the honours paid him, that were due to a friend and ally of the king

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* This treaty, unknown hitherto to all our historians, is found in the *Fœdera*, or collection of the publick acts by Mr. Rymer.

and kingdom. The king of Scotland thinking it best to follow the advice of Lewis XI. kept at home, to have an eye upon the conduct of the English.

The greatest part of the king's council, provoked that the duke of Burgundy made no other use of the truce, but to prepare for war, and stir up all Europe against France, were for marching immediately to attack him; but the king, who was never at a loss for resources when the danger was pressing, was of a different mind. He saw the duke of Burgundy upon the point of carrying his arms into Germany, and thought it good policy not to give him any interruption in an enterprize, which he foresaw must in the end prove fatal to him. For it was a constant Maxim with Lewis XI. to be provided against all events, never to take up arms but in cases of extremity, and to secure himself by the faults and oversights of his enemies, of which no prince better knew how to make advantage.

Lewis, instead of acting offensively against duke Charles, confined himself wholly to the care of raising up enemies to employ him, and accordingly laid hold of the opportunity, which offered in relation to the county of Ferette. Sigismund duke of Austria, had five years before sold or mortgaged it to the duke of Burgundy. Charles had sent thither for governor Hagembac, a man cruel, avaritious, and fit rather to be employed in ruining a country, than gaining the minds of new subjects. The oppressions of Hagembac reached even to the Switzers. Upon their complaints, the duke of Burgundy sent commissioners into every canton; but it appearing from their manifest partiality to Hagembac, that he was one of those instruments of tyranny, who are willing to charge themselves with the whole weight of the publick odium, and who would not be employed, were they more upright, or such as stood in no need of an apology to screen their actions from
censure;

censure; they who had complained, durst not declare themselves farther, as being afraid of drawing upon themselves the resentment of a man unjust, violent, and backed by authority. The canton of Bern alone, distinguishing between the prince and the minister, represented to the duke, that the Switzers were of nothing more desirous than to live in friendship with him, but that they could not any longer bear with the oppressions of Hagembac. The duke wholly taken up with his designs upon Germany, paid no regard to these remonstrances.

Robert of Bavaria, elector of Cologne, was at this time at variance with his chapter. All the nobility of the electorate declared for the chapter, applied to the emperor for protection, and chose Herman, landgrave of Hesse, to be administrator of the electorate, with a promise of all their suffrages when it became vacant.

The duke of Burgundy, to whom every occasion of war was a sufficient motive to undertake it, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and joining the elector of Cologne, laid *July 31.* siege to Nuz, a city upon the banks of the Rhine. The landgrave of Hesse shut himself up in the place with a strong garison, and prepared to make a vigorous defence, in expectation of being relieved by the princes of the empire.

Lewis judging the discontent of the Switzers to be of much greater importance, than it had appeared to the duke of Burgundy, resolved to take advantage of it, as a fair opportunity for bringing back Sigismund duke of Austria into the county of Ferette, for exasperating the Switzers against Charles, and thereby making them very useful allies to France. He became a mediator between them and the duke of Austria, settled and adjusted their differences, and lent Sigismund an hundred thousand florins, to repay the duke of Burgundy the sum for which the

county of Ferette had been mortgaged. He concluded at the same time an alliance with
Oct. 26. the canton of Bern, and with those of the German league.

This treaty * wrought a general revolution in the cantons, and all the neighbouring provinces.
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** As it has served for a model to those that followed, it will not be amiss to give here a summary of it. The allies express themselves nearly to this effect.*

The king of France, in all and every of our wars, especially those against the duke of Burgundy, is bound faithfully to aid, succour and defend us, at his own proper charge. And moreover, in testimony of his good will and friendship, he shall deposit in the city of Lyons, and pay us yearly, all the days of his life, the sum of twenty thousand florins; and if the said king, in his wars and armies, stands in need of our assistance, and applies to us for that purpose, we are then bound to furnish him with as many armed troops as possible, provided they are not employed in our own proper wars, upon condition of his allowing them the monthly pay of four florins and a half *per man*.

When the said king demands of us a supply of troops, he shall deposit in the cities of Zurich, Bern, or Lucern, a month's pay *per man*, and the two next months pay in the city of Geneva, or whatever other place we shall name.

The said three months pay shall commence from the day the troops begin their march, who shall enjoy the same immunities and privileges, as the subjects of the king: And if at any time whatsoever, we require of the said king, to grant us aid in our wars against the duke of Burgundy, and it so happen, that on account of wars of his own, he is not able to supply us with his troops; then, in order to enable us to defend ourselves, the said king shall be bound so long as we continue in arms, to pay us quarterly the sum of twenty thousand florins, over and above the twenty thousand already mentioned.

And

The cities of Strasburg, Colmar, Schelestad, Mulhausen, Basil, and several others, entered into the league; the people of Ferette put themselves again under their old master, and Hagembac was seized and sent to Brisac, where he was beheaded. The Switzers now openly declaring themselves enemies, entered Burgundy, destroying all with fire and sword. *Novem.*

It then appeared, that Lewis XI. had acted according to the maxims of a wise policy, in suffering the duke of Burgundy to entangle himself on the side of Germany. That prince by continuing before Nuz, became wholly disabled from executing the project he had formed with Edward, of entering

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And if at any time, we enter into a treaty, of either peace or truce with the duke of Burgundy, or any other of the king's or our enemies, we are hereby engaged to include by express and special articles, him the king; and in like manner he, in all his wars with the duke of Burgundy, when they come to treat of peace or truce, stands engaged to make express proviso with regard to us.

In all these articles we include on our part, our holy father the pope, the holy Roman empire, and all those with whom we are joined in present alliance: The same is supposed on the part of the king, the duke of Burgundy excepted, in regard of whom we are at liberty to behave in the manner specified above.

And if it shall so happen, that we be entangled in a war with the duke of Burgundy, then, and at that instant, he the king, ought powerfully to stir in our defence, and is bound to perform all duties and services belonging to war, for the promoting of his own and our interest; and all this without fraud or insincerity.

And soasmuch as it is our intention to preserve this happy union firm, inviolable, and unshaken, during the life of him the king, we have ordered these presents to be delivered unto him signed and sealed, having in like manner received the ratification from him, sealed with his own seal.

ing France at the head of a powerful army. On the other hand Edward durst not attempt any thing against France, without an assurance of being well supported. England however, had never made more formidable preparations for war; and Edward, in hopes of intimidating Lewis, sent an herald to summon him to restore the provinces of Normandy and Guyenne, threatening, in case of refusal, to enter France with all his forces.

The king, who never himself employed vain threats against his enemies, nor dreaded them from others, took no notice at first of this insolent demand; but as the herald insisted upon having a positive answer, and repeated his menaces of Edward's passing immediately into France; *tell your master*, reply'd the king coldly, *that I advise him not*. The continuation of Monstrellet adds, that Lewis shortly after sent to the king of England, an ass, a wolf, and a wild-boar. It is not easy to guess what he could mean by such a message; however Edward was extremely provoked, and redoubled his threats, which were but little regarded.

Though Lewis was not in the least afraid of his enemies, he neglected however nothing needful for the defence and security of the kingdom: he laid up great magazines of corn, strengthened the frontier towns with new works, and provided them with good garisons. The bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, gave in a long memorial, representing the advantages, that would accrue from fortifying la Hogue, and making there a port, where the king's ships might lie secure against all insults. It happened then, as it has often happened since; the project was examined, approved, and even resolved upon, but never executed. What has been done in our own days, sufficiently shews how serviceable this might have been at that time to the state.

Almost immediately after the signing of the treaty,
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the Switzers began to complain of the oppressions their merchants suffered from those who were employed in gathering in the king's taxes, and who set no bounds to their exactions, but those of their own insatiable avarice. This had long been a subject of complaint, even to the French themselves; for such as had the management of publick affairs, knowing themselves and services to be necessary, exercised great oppressions upon the people, and run them into enormous expences. They had hired officers under them, who carried off the effects of such as were liable to the taxes, and by heaping up expences upon them so wholly ruined them, that they were incapable of discharging the demands against them. The farmers of the revenues, where money was not to be had, carried off the wine and corn of the country people, and entered into a confederacy with the merchants, who afterwards fixed what value they had a mind upon the goods so seized.

The king was, for the most part, ignorant of these oppressions, or saw himself often under the necessity of winking at them: but being now sensible of how great importance it was to protect his new allies against all unjust impositions, in order to attach them the more firmly to France, he gave the Switzers all the satisfaction they could desire, and at the same time took occasion from the present complaints, to send commissioners into the several provinces of the kingdom, to examine into the abuses that had been committed, and punish the guilty.

It is certain, that Lewis XI. in humbling the great, sought at the same time to ease the people, and even abated of his own rights, where he saw any publick advantage likely to accrue from it, of which he gave an instance this same year in relation to printing.

This art was first invented in Germany, towards the end of the reign of Charles VII. Common.

same gives the glory of it to Mentz ; though some think Straßburg has the better title. The first printers who came to Paris about the year 1470, were Ulrick Gering, Martin Crantz, and Michael Fri-burger. They settled in the Sorbonne, under the patronage of William Fichet and John Heylin, two the most distinguished for learning at that time in the university. They taught divinity, philosophy, and the belles letters ; and though rivals by profession, yet lived in the greatest friendship and mutual esteem.

The encouragement given to the first printers, soon brought many others to Paris, among whom was Herman Staterlen, a native of Munster, and agent for the booksellers at Mentz. He had brought a great number of books with him into France, but dying, all his effects were seized as the king's property and escheat. The university opposed the seizure, and demanded, that at least the scholars should be permitted to buy the books. This body was not then so illustrious as it has since rendered itself, but was, notwithstanding treated with greater distinction, as being very considerable on account of the great number of scholars, who were not less than twelve thousand. The sciences at that time but imperfect, were nevertheless held in great honour ; and it was neither surprizing nor uncommon for them to advance a man to the first dignities.

The parliament receiving the university's opposition, the king forbid them to proceed to any decision. He insisted that the seizure made on his behalf should first have its full and proper effect ; but afterwards, to show how much it was his intention to encourage and patronise the liberal arts, he did not barely confine himself to the request of the university in favour of her students, but ordered John Briconnet, the receiver general to remit to the booksellers of Mentz two thousand four hundred and twenty-

twenty-five crowns, to indemnify them for the seizure.

This year was remarkable for the death *Sept. 1.* of Henry IV. king of Castile: Zurita assures us that he left no will, and that Hernand Pulgar, who says he did, was mistaken. We are told in the manuscript history of Don Diego Henrico del Castillo, the king's chaplain, that father Mancelo, prior of the convent of St. Jerome, confessed the king for about an hour, and afterwards demanded openly, whether he would not be pleased to order what might be proper for the repose of his soul, and his interment. Henry answered with great composure, that he left for executors of his will, the archbishop of Toledo, the cardinal of Spain, the duke of Arrevalo, the marquis of Villena, and the count of Benevente; which proves sufficiently, that there was a will. We find likewise, in a chronicle composed by an officer belonging to queen Isabella, and who therefore cannot be suspected in this case, that Henry made a will, in which he appointed Jane to succeed him, and solemnly declared, that she was his daughter. That this will remained in the hands of the curate of Santa-Crux in Madrid, who went and hid it with other papers somewhere near Almeida in Portugal. That he afterwards entrusted the secret to Fernand Gomez of Herrera his friend, who imparted it to Isabella during the illness of which she died. That she sent in quest of these papers, but died before the return of those who brought them. And that king Ferdinand IV. who, after the queen's death, had the Regency of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, caused these papers to be burnt. It was necessary to be thus particular in what relates to Henry's will, because the uncertainty of Jane's birth, was the cause of a long war between Ferdinand IV. king of Castile, and Alphonso V. king of Portugal; and that Lewis XI. took advantage of
this.

this division, to secure to himself the possession of Rouffillon.

As whatever relates to the history of Arts, is, at least, as important as recitals of battles, the monuments of our fury, I shall conclude the transactions of the present year with an event that tended to the perfecting of surgery.

A Franc-archer of Meudon, being found guilty of many crimes, was condemned to die. The physicians and surgeons, knowing that he had been troubled with the stone, presented a petition, importing, that many persons in the kingdom were subject to the same calamity; that there was reason to think, the operation of cutting might, without endangering life, be a means to relieve them; and that therefore trial might now be made upon a criminal. The operation succeeded, the patient was cured in fifteen days, and the king not only pardoned him, but also assigned him a pension.

A war breaking out on account of the succession to the kingdom of Castile, obliged both the parties concerned, to make their court to France. *Easter* Isabella and Jane *Mar. 26.* of Castile, claimed each the right of succeeding to the dominions of king Henry IV. Isabella founded her plea on the oath of allegiance, taken to her by the states. On the other hand Jane, born in lawful marriage, had been owned by Henry for his daughter, maugre the suspicions to the contrary, perhaps not wholly without foundation, yet destroyed by solemn and authentick acts in her favour. This princess was supported by the Pachecos, the Girons, the Cuevas, and the king of Portugal, while the houses of Henrico, Mendoza and Velasco declared for Isabella. The rights of princes depend often on their power to assert them; and that of the two contending parties in the present case was nearly equal.

Alphonso,

Alphonso, king of Portugal, Jane's uncle, instead of seizing the first opportunity to enter Castile with an army, and justify by success the rights of his niece, amused himself with holding councils; and lost in deliberating, the time of action.

He sent a herald into France, to notify *Jan. 8.* to Lewis the death of king Henry, and acquaint him with his design of espousing queen Jane. He represented to him, that the king of Aragon, by uniting Castile to that crown, would become a dangerous neighbour to France: whereas she could always count upon a faithful ally in the king of Portugal. As to the difficulties, which Lewis made of treating with the Portuguese, while they were in alliance with the English, the ancient enemies of France, Alphonso answered, that as soon as he was in possession of Castile, he would resign Portugal to prince John his son; and by that means oppose to his engagements with the English, the alliances that had subsisted, time out of mind, between the kingdoms of France and Castile. Alphonso, further to convince him of the sincerity of his intentions, urged him to push the siege of Perpignan, assuring him, that in order to facilitate the conquest of Roussillon, he would himself attack Ferdinand, and thereby cause a powerful diversion.

While Lewis was thus treating with Portugal, he entered likewise into a negotiation with Ferdinand and Isabella. The ambassadors on both sides were commissioned to renew with the king the ancient alliances between the crowns of France and Castile. The propositions of Jane and Isabella were in this respect pretty much the same. The difficulty was not about the renewing the alliances between kingdom and kingdom, but to know with which of the parties it would be most advantageous to treat.

Ferdinand and Isabella proposed the marriage of the dauphin with their eldest daughter Isabella. The
king,

king, probably, never designed to conclude this marriage, and only aimed at getting possession of Roussillon and Cerdagne. Ferdinand would have readily consented to this, and even gave his ambassadors full powers for that purpose; but upon the complaints of the king of Arragon, his father, he disowned them, and declared to Lewis XI. that he could by no means agree to the restitution of these provinces.

The king, who never lost sight of his projects, set himself to gain the ambassadors, and in some measure succeeded; for although they did not directly grant his demands, and seemed to bound themselves by their instructions, yet, in fact, they betrayed their master's interest, by protracting the treaty, and giving him time to carry by force or address, what they would not yield in the way of negotiation.

Lewis carried on the siege of Perpignan by du Lude, and Yvon du Fau, and sought only to prolong the treaty, till he should get possession of the place. The better to conceal his designs, he sent to Ferdinand, the bishops of Alby and Lombez, John of Amboise, Grammont, and Sacierge, in quality of ambassadors, and charged them with so many different powers, that they were often greatly perplexed, and could agree about nothing.

These negotiations however, had all the effect Lewis expected from them. Before any thing could be concluded, Perpignan was reduced to the last extremity. Zurita relates, that a woman seeing one of her children die of hunger, made it serve for food to the other that was left; a spectacle at once of horror and compassion. The inhabitants, pressed by the enemy without, and famine

March 1. within, surrendered at last, on condition, that such as chose to leave the city should be at liberty to retire. A great number of gentlemen went into Arragon.

Lewis XI. and the king of Arragon, tired of the war,

war, and having both other enemies to fear, signed at length a truce of six months.

Lewis, provoked at the resistance he had met from Perpignan, was resolved to intimidate those who might be for the king of Arragon. He appointed Boufile governor of the town; but not finding in him that rigour and severity which he required from all who were commissioned to execute his orders; he sent moreover du Bouchage into Rouffillon, with powers more extensive than those of the governor. He charged him to make strict enquiry after those whose fidelity was liable to suspicion, to expel them the province, and confiscate their estates. Lewis at the same time made over the confiscations to du Bouchage and Boufile, in reward of their services; a recompence by so much the more indecent, as they thereby became both judge and party. Boufile was nevertheless disinterested enough to represent to the king, that by driving away so many persons from the city, he would increase the number of his enemies, and weaken the place; whereas clemency would infallibly make them faithful subjects, and bind them to him by the ties of gratitude. The king at first was displeased with these remonstrances of the governor; but, at last, prudence getting the better of his resentment, he contented himself with ordering him to keep a watchful eye over the disaffected.

The taking of Perpignan re-established in Italy a respect for the king's power, which the duke of Burgundy represented as tottering. That prince set himself to propagate personal calumnies against the king. They even began to gain credit in Italy. The bishop of Cahors, who was then at Rome, refuted them with great spirit, and made appear, that all the princes who complained of Lewis XI. had been themselves the first to swerve from their engagements: strange conduct! and yet justly chargeable

chargeable upon all the reigning princes of that age. They seem to have had no other way of defending themselves, but by recriminating.

Ferdinand, king of Naples, espoused at first the interests of duke Charles, from a hope of marrying his son Frederick to Mary of Burgundy. The hope of espousing this princess was a lure which the duke artfully played off, to engage several potentates to side with him. He fed all with hopes, promised her to several; but without any real design of bestowing her upon any of them. He would sometimes say to his confidants: *The day I marry my daughter you may expect to see me turn monk.*

The duke, however, was very forward with his promises, which he readily gave in terms no less positive than if he had been sincere: Upon these assurances it was, that Frederick, son of the king of Naples, came to wait on the duke of Burgundy.

The king of Naples soon perceiving that nothing was to be hoped for from this prince, would not engage so far, as to hazard breaking with the king, from whom he solicited the restitution of two rich Neapolitan galleys, taken by William Coulon sieur de Cassenove, vice-admiral of France, and the most expert seaman of his time.

Although the king did not openly approve all the steps taken by Coulon, he was nevertheless willing to cherish his zeal, and raise an emulation in the fleet. He affected not to know of this capture, and indemnified the subjects of the king of Naples, and the rest concerned, for the effects they had lost on board these galleys.

The king of Naples was so sensibly touched with this restitution, that he wrote to the king, assuring him, the only reason of his not declaring openly for him, was, that he might not violate the engagements he had entered into with the duke: As to the marriage that was negotiating between prince Frederick and
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the heiress of Burgundy, he saw plainly, that the duke intended to deceive him: However, he was resolved not to give him the least pretence for withdrawing his promise: that, notwithstanding he was willing absolutely to renounce the alliance of Burgundy, provided the king would marry prince Frederick, to a princess of his own blood, with an annuity of twenty-five, or thirty thousand livres. The king of Naples added, that being descended of the house of Arragon, he could not with honour detach himself from their interest: But that he would do his utmost to bring about a peace between the two crowns: And he thought the friendship of the king of France a sufficient equivalent for the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne.

The king readily laid hold of this opportunity of gaining to himself a great interest in Italy, and thwarting the intrigues of the duke of Burgundy, who succeeded but little in his negotiations, nor were his arms more happy before Nuz.

The siege had now lasted six months, and only served to ruin the duke's army: his estates were drained of men and money; and no other fruit accrued from it, but that of stirring up all the princes of the empire against him. All the time duke Charles was before Nuz, the king's troops were disposed in such manner, that they might rendezvous upon very short warning. The marshal Rouault was at Dieppe; Torcy, on the confines of Normandy and Picardy; Salazar, at Amiens; la Tremouille, Baudricourt, and Curton in Champagne; the king kept at Paris, or some where in its neighbourhood, that he might be ready to set out on the first notice, in order to put himself at the head of his army.

Some time before this, the emperor Frederick III. had proposed to the king an alliance against the duke of Burgundy. Tho' this proposal seemed very advantageous,

advantageous, yet the council was divided upon it. Some earnestly opposed the treaty, alledging, that France for the last ten years, had enjoyed no respite from troubles of one kind or another; that its strength was daily impaired; and that this union with the emperor would infallibly bring on a war, the consequences of which could not easily be foreseen, neither was the emperor an ally on whom they ought much to rely. 'Tis certain that Frederick III. was a weak prince, irresolute, covetous, in a word, full of vices and defects. He was equally ready to engage or violate his faith, thro' meer weakness: And had been made head of the empire, not so much for his personal qualities, as on account of his dignity. His reign, tho' very long, serves only as an epocha to the actions of other princes his coteremporaries.

On the other hand, such as were for the alliance with Frederick, represented, that so long as he should continue with an army upon the Rhine, the duke of Burgundy would be under a necessity of employing his forces on that side; that he would scarce be able to spare a sufficient number of troops to garrison his towns, much less be in condition to keep the field on the side of France; that the English not being supported, would not dare to stir from Calais, nor the duke of Britany to declare himself; that if the emperor's alliance was rejected, he might listen to the offers of duke Charles; and that in fine, in order to have a sure remedy against the weakness and inconstancy of the emperor, in treating with him, they were to conclude also a like treaty with the princes of the empire.

This last consideration, turned the scale on the side of those who were for the alliance. In consequence of which, new powers were sent to John Tiercelin lord of Brosse, the king's chamberlain, and John Paris, counsellor in parliament, who attended

tended upon Frederick in quality of ambassadors ; and they were authorized to conclude a league with the emperor, and the princes and electors of the empire. A treaty was therefore signed, by which the king stood engaged to bring into the field twenty thousand men : The emperor *Mar. 25.* and princes of the empire were to furnish thirty thousand ; and this army was to enter the territories of the duke of Burgundy, as soon as it could be in readiness to act.

During this negotiation with the princes of the empire, the king commissioned the constable de S. Pol, to propose to the duke of Burgundy a prolongation of the truce.

The duke replied, that he could not comprehend what was meant by proposing a truce, at a time when the king and princes of the empire had fixed the day for a congress at Metz, in order to concert measures for carrying the war into the heart of Burgundy : *The king, added the duke, has often fallen upon me unprepared, without being able to draw any Advantage from it ; I have therefore no reason to fear him at present, when the kings of England and Arragon, and the duke of Britany, have engaged to join their forces with mine. The young king of Castille, the duke of Milan, the house of Savoy, the kings of Naples and Hungary, the Venetians, and the prince Palatine, also offer me their service as confederates and allies.*

The duke renewed all the old injurious reproaches against the king, for violating former truces. The personal hatred between Lewis XI. and duke Charles was often the occasion of their making and meriting from each other the same reproaches. The duke concluded with declaring, that the desire of turning his arms against the infidels, was the sole motive that could induce him at present to consent to a truce with the king ; but that he must begin with the surrender of Amiens and S. Quintin, and
also

also allow the kings of Arragon and England, and the duke of Britany a place in the treaty. The duke, however, was far from having that fidelity and attachment to his allies, which he pretended. He wrote privately to the constable, signifying, that he was willing to sign the truce without including his allies, provided the cities of Amiens and S. Quintin were delivered up to him.

The king nothing terrified by the duke of Burgundy's menaces, and rejecting the conditions offered him, prepared for war. He set out from Paris immediately, and opened the campaign with the taking of Tronquoy, Montdidier, Roye, Bray-sur-Somme, and Corbie. This last place made a better defence than the rest, and Contay, who commanded in it, had an honourable capitulation granted him. The king's troops next entered Artois, and burnt Inville, la Barq, Darqui, Duisans, Mareuil, and Pontdugis. The garison of Arras sallied out against the French, who at first counterfeited flight, in order to bring on an action; and then suddenly facing about, charged the enemy with such fury, that they drove the Burgundians back to the very gates of Arras: Very few escaped: Almost all of any distinction were taken prisoners, as James de S. Pol, Carency, Courtray, and d'Enquesme.

Whilst the French were thus laying waste the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, René, duke of Lorain, sent a herald to Nuz, to declare war against him, and in the mean time possessed himself of Pierre-fort in Luxembourg.

Although the duke of Burgundy was, beyond measure, provoked at the defiance, sent him by the duke of Lorain, he affected, however, to hide his sense of the affront, by the civil reception he gave the herald, whom he presented with a rich suit of cloaths, and a sum of money, in reward, he said, for the good news he brought him.

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The duke of Burgundy was not able long to smother his rage; and the news which he received of the success of the French contributed still more to inflame it. He wrote to Dufay, governor of Luxembourg, to retake Pierre-fort, and ordered at the same time, that all who were in the place when it surrendered, should be quartered. Although the siege of Nuz had cost him abundance of men and money, he could not yet resolve to abandon that enterprize; he was determined to make a last effort, by attacking the German camp. At first he had some advantage, occasioned by the surprize, but in the end was repulsed: the loss was considerable, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, which still tended to the weakening of the Burgundians.

The duke saw himself at last obliged to yield to necessity, and sign a truce for nine months. It was agreed that the Imperial army should withdraw into the territories of the empire, and the duke's into his own dominions; that the city of Nuz should remain in the hands of the bishop of Forli, the pope's legate, and the dispute between the archbishop and the chapter of Cologn, be referred to the determination of his holiness.

The duke of Burgundy's regret at not succeeding in the siege of Nuz, gave way to his desire of taking vengeance of the duke of Lorain, who, with his succours from France was making a new progress in Luxembourg. The duke sent Campobasse before him into that province, with two hundred lances. The rest of the army took the rout of Thionville, and by his appointment rendezvoused at Maestrich. He could not dissemble his resentment at seeing himself attacked by a prince so young, and so much his inferior in point of power as the duke of Lorain, and had his mind more set upon revenge, than fulfilling his engagements to Edward king of England.

The English had levied a prodigious army, and
were

were ready to make a descent upon France, as soon as they saw the duke of Burgundy in a condition to join them.

Lewis XI. more attentive to prevent the designs of his enemies, than duke Charles was to second his allies, ordered his troops to march into Normandy, and came himself to Rouen. Here he

June 10. treated with William de Chalons about the principality of Orange. The prince of Orange had been taken prisoner as he was going to wait upon the duke of Burgundy. Grolee, whose prisoner he was, sold him to the king for forty thousand crowns. As the prince of Orange was not able to pay this sum, he yielded and made over to the king, by way of ransom, the right of fief, allegiance, oath of fidelity, and full sovereignty, with final appeal to the parliament of Dauphine, over the principality of Orange, its cities, forts, and vassals. The king received his homage, and permitted him to stile himself, *prince of Orange by the grace of God*. He had also the privilege to coin money, and pardon criminals, except in cases of heresy and treason. He preserved to the inhabitants their laws and privileges, with exemption from all taxes imposed, or to be imposed upon Dauphine. Thus the king, in acquiring the sovereignty of Orange still left the prince in possession of the chief prerogatives belonging to it.

The king, that he might be in a condition to repel the attempts of his enemies, resolved to make sure of those of his subjects, whose fidelity he had reason to suspect. The constable's treachery was no longer a mystery, after the particulars he had learnt from James de S. Pol, his brother. He had presented himself thrice before the gates of S. Quentin, to take possession of it for the duke of Burgundy. The constable's natural inconstancy and distrust of the king, had induced him to treat with the duke about the surrender of that place, and
prevented

vented his putting his design in execution, when he came to the point. We have seen that James de Pol, was made prisoner at the battle of Arras. The king put several questions to him relating to the constable. James de S. Pol, did not attempt to excuse the restless spirit of his brother. The king desired to know how he would have behaved, had he been received into the town. *I would have done it, answered he, for the duke my master.* His sincerity pleased the king, he restored him to his liberty, and after the duke's death took him into his service.

It was further discovered, that the constable had solicited the duke of Bourbon, to declare for the duke of Burgundy. This gave the king so much the greater uneasiness, as the duke of Bourbon commanded an army in Burgundy; but these suspicions were soon dispelled. The duke of Bourbon made evident by his behaviour, that he was far fromarken- ing to the propositions of the constable. He took Chateau-Chinon, cut in pieces the army of the count de Rouffi, mareschal of Burgundy, and made the mareschal himself prisoner, together with the sires de Longy, Lisle, Montmartin, Digoigne, Cogny, Chaligny, and many other officers of distinction. The loss was so considerable, that they who retired to Dijon, sent to intreat the sire de Neuchâsse, to come and draw together the remains of the army, and take upon him the command. The duke of Bourbon, now master of the field, burnt Ailly-la-Ville, and took Bar-sur-Seine.

This News quieted the king's mind. At the same time arrived a herald from the king of England, who being ready to embark, sent to summon Lewis XI. to surrender to him the kingdom of France. The king received this defiance, rather with an air of coldness than any evident marks of attempt. He took the herald aside, and told him,
that

that he knew the king of England had not engaged in this war out of inclination, but at the importunity of the duke of Burgundy, and to please the house of commons; that the duke had ruined his army before Nuz, and was no longer in a condition to succour his allies; that the constable on whom the king of England so much depended, wanted only to sow dissention among princes, and would assuredly deceive him; and that for these reasons the king of England would find it more advantageous to live in terms of friendship with France, than trust to allies, who could do him no service, and must unavoidably disappoint him.

The king to give the greater weight to his arguments, ordered a present of three hundred crowns of gold to the herald, with the promise of a more considerable sum, if a peace was concluded. The herald gained by this liberality, easily consented to the reasonableness of what the king proposed: he promised to do his utmost to bring about a peace, advised him to wait till the king of England was landed with his army in France, and desired him to address his letters to the lords Howard and Stanley, as the persons in greatest credit with king Edward.

The king re-entered the hall, where his courtiers waited for him with impatience, and endeavoured to read in his looks the impression which the king of England's defiance had made upon his mind. The king appeared with an air of satisfaction and content, spoke without reserve of Edward's letter, and even gave it to some of his courtiers to read. He afterwards commanded Commynes to entertain the herald till he was ready to depart, that nobody might have an opportunity of talking with him in private, and to present him with a piece of crimson velvet of thirty ells.

Edward no sooner saw his herald return, than he gave

gave orders for his troops to embark. He appointed lord Audley and Galliard de Durfort, lord of Duras, to conduct the succours destined for the service of the duke of Britany, who had engaged to declare himself as soon as the English had opened the campaign. Edward, named the prince of Wales his son, but five years old, guardian of the realm in his absence, without doubt to avoid the necessity of appointing any other to that dangerous trust. He left with him for governors and counsellors such of the nobility, whose ambition he most dreaded, as foreseeing that their mutual jealousy would keep them within the bounds of their duty.

Edward, upon his arrival at Calais, expected to find the duke of Burgundy *July.* at the head of an army, and ready to act in concert with him against Lewis XI. Nothing could equal the surprize of the English, when they saw the duke of Burgundy enter the camp with a few attendants, and only impatient to leave them again, that he might go and make war upon the duke of Lorain.

Edward could not forbear reminding the duke of Burgundy, that the English had not undertaken to cross over into France, but upon a promise given them, that they should find the war already begun, and be enabled to pursue it so vigorously, as to make up for what of the season was lost before their arrival. The duke to excuse himself, and amuse the English, told them, that his affairs were very far advanced by the secret intelligence he held with the constable, who had agreed to surrender S. Quintin to them.

Edward in this belief ordered a detachment to march and take possession of the place: but the constable fired from the Town upon the English. The duke of Burgundy, who was himself deceived by the constable, assured the king of England, that he acted in this manner only out of policy, to the
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end that should the war turn out favourable to the French king, he might plead, that he had not delivered up the town till he found that he was not in a condition to defend it.

The king of England therefore appeared himself before S. Quintin, notwithstanding which, the constable ordered the garison to fire upon the English. Neither Edward nor the duke of Burgundy could tell what judgment to form of S. Pol's conduct, who at the same time wrote to them, that what he had done was only to serve them the more effectually. The English nevertheless began to mistrust their allies, when they saw that S. Quintin was not surrendered to them, and that the duke left them to set out for Barrois.

Lewis XI. was all this while under the most cruel anxiety : never had the English transported so fine an army into France ; almost all the nobility of the kingdom were in Edward's camp ; the duke of Brittany and the dukes of Savoy had acceded to the league. And, indeed, had the duke of Burgundy kept to his engagements, and not suffered himself to be blindly carried away by his desire of taking vengeance on the duke of Lorain, France might have been brought to the brink of ruin. Lewis was not insensible of the danger of his situation ; his natural distrust rather magnified it, and threw him into the most violent perplexity imaginable, when a domestick belonging to John de Grassay was brought to him. He had been made prisoner by the English, and sent back according to the usage of those times, when as appears, they always restored to his liberty the first captive of war they made.

This man came immediately to Compiègne, and desired to be introduced to the king. Lewis at first suspected him for a spy, and charged some of those that were about him, to interrogate him. He answered

ered with so much openness and seeming sincerity, that the king at last consented to see him. He told him, that upon being made prisoner, he was brought before the king of England; that soon after they released him, and that as he was coming away, the lords Howard and Stanley charged him to present their most humble respects to his majesty. The king then called to mind that Edward's herald had visited him to address himself to these two lords. He ordered Commynes to be called, and told him, that he intended to send a herald to Edward's camp: that as he had none with him at that time in the army, it was necessary to cloath some one in a herald's coat, and accordingly he named a servant belonging to the lord des Halles, whom he had once before talked with, and found to be a man of sense and judgment. Commynes sent for this man, gave him his instructions, made up a coat of arms for him with the banners of trumpets, and sent him to Edward's camp, where he was conducted into Edward's presence by the lords Howard and Stanley.

He told that monarch, that the king his master desired nothing so much as to live in friendship with him: That since his accession to the crown he had never made war upon, or attempted any thing against England; and as for his having entertained the earl of Warwick in his kingdom, it was more in opposition to the duke of Burgundy, than out of any quarrel to him; that the duke by fomenting the war, aimed only at the gratification of his own hatred and ambition; that this war could never be to any advantage to the king of England; that the king was far advanced; that the English would not find themselves under a necessity of repassing the sea, or exposing their country to a civil war; that it was for the benefit of both kings to live in peace; and that plenipotentiaries might be appointed,

ed, to meet somewhere between the two armies, and settle the articles.

Edward already dissatisfied with the duke of Burgundy, listened favourably to the king's proposals, which were backed by Howard and *August.* Stanley. He called a council of the chief nobility, laid before them the herald's commission, and represented; that the army began to be in want of every thing; that it was in vain to wait for assistance from his allies; and that he thought it better to treat with the king of France, than expose himself to the danger of an expensive war, from which he could reap no advantage.

The council approved Edward's design; plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides, and met at a village near Amiens. The king at the same time sent the chancellor Doriole to Paris to raise the money which he foresaw would be necessary to support the arguments of his ministers. The articles were settled without much difficulty. Communes pretend that the English at first demanded the restitution of the whole kingdom, and afterwards confined themselves to Normandy and Guyenne: But we find nothing of this kind either in the propositions which Edward made to his council, or in the instructions given to his commissioners. The copy of the treaty in Rymer's collection of the publick acts, and the instrument empowering the cardinal archbishop of canterbury Edward's uncle, and the duke of Clarence his brother, to sign the treaty, mention, that Edward was satisfied with the sum of sixty thousand crowns*; that as soon as the said sum

* As the account here given of the treaty between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. differs in some particulars, as well as the manner of relating them from what we meet with in the historians of our nation, I think it proper to subjoin *here a summary* of the several articles extracted from an author,

sum was paid, he would return to England with his army, and that the lord Howard, and Sir John Cheney, master of the horse, should remain as hostages till the greatest part of the army was arrived in

author, who cannot sure be charged with partiality to England, in transactions between them and the French.

In Edward's circumstances, deserted by his allies, the season far spent, and in an enemy's country, without castles or friends, the king of France's proposals were very acceptable. Accordingly the herald was dismissed with a present, and a safe-conduct for his master's ambassadors. The same day, or the next, Edward called a council, at which were present all the lords in the army, to the number of eighteen. It was resolved almost unanimously, that the lord Howard and three others should confer with the king of France's ambassadors, and a full power was given them to conclude a peace upon these terms: 1. That Lewis should pay the king, within a fortnight, the sum of seventy-five thousand crowns, and from thence forward fifty thousand crowns yearly, at two payments, during the life of the two kings. 2. That the king of France should promise to marry the dauphin his son to the king's eldest or second daughter, and allow his daughter-in-law sixty thousand livres a year. Upon these two conditions, the ambassadors were empowered to promise in the king's name, that he would return into England with his troops, immediately after the receipt of the seventy-five thousand crowns: To conclude a treaty of amity and alliance between the two kings, with a promise of mutual assistance against their rebellious subjects; and lastly, to sign a truce for seven years.

The plenipotentiaries of the two kings meeting near Amiens, at almost an equal distance from the two armies, the treaty was concluded the 28th, or 29th of August, as Edward desired, without any considerable alteration. Every thing being thus settled, separate writings were drawn, on each particular article of the treaty.

By the first, the two kings promised to decide all their differences by arbitrators, namely, the archbishop of canterbury, and the duke of Clarence for the king of England, and

in England. The truce was concluded for nine years: Edward named for conservators his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the chancellor, the keeper of the privy-seal, and the governors of the Cinque-ports, and Calais. The conservators on the part of the king were; the sieur de Beaujeu, and the bastard of Bourbon admiral of France. The king comprehended in the truce the emperor and electors of the empire, the kings of Castile, Leon, Scotland, Denmark, Jerusalem, Sicily, and Hungary; the dukes of Milan, Savoy, and Lorain; the bishop of Metz, the states and territories of Florence, Bern, and their allies; the confederate body of higher Germany; and the country of Liege. On the

and for the king of France, the archbishop of Lyons, and the earl of Dunois. Moreover, Edward engaged to quit the French territories, upon the receipt of the seventy-five thousand crowns, without doing any damage, and to leave hostages for the performance of his word.

The second concerned the seven years truce, in which were included all the allies of both the kings, and expressly the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, if they desired it.

The third contained a mutual engagement of brotherly friendship between the two kings, and express articles concerning the dauphin's marriage with Elizabeth daughter of Edward.

The fourth was in form of letters patents, whereby Lewis promised to pay annually to Edward, during their lives, the sum of fifty thousand crowns. This the English authors call a tribute, though the letters patents express not under what title this yearly pension was to be paid. Some say, it was limited to nine years. But no other limitation appears than the lives of the two kings.

Lastly, Edward promised to release queen Margaret for a ransom of fifty thousand crowns, which the king of France was to pay for her, within five years. We find in the collection of the publick acts, that Margaret, was accordingly released the beginning of November this year, and Lewis XI. punctually paid the sum promised. *Tindals Rapin*, vol. I. p. 621.

the part of the king of England were comprehended: the emperor, without any mention of the electors; all the king's above-named, as also the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, and the Hans-towns: No other states or princes are mentioned in the truce.

The same day another treaty was signed, by which the two kings bound themselves mutually to assist each other against their rebellious subjects, and to grant one another a secure retreat, if either should chance to be expelled his dominions; it was likewise agreed, that within a year, or little more, a congress should be held, to ascertain the value of money, in order to facilitate commerce between the two nations; that the dauphin of France should espouse the princess Elizabeth, or Mary her younger sister, if Elizabeth should die before the marriage; and that the nuptials should be solemnized at the king's expence, who was to allow Elizabeth a settlement of sixty-thousand crowns a year, while she continued in England, and cause her to be conducted into France at his own charge.

By another instrument the king obliged himself to pay yearly, during his own life, and that of king Edward, the sum of fifty thousand crowns, with security upon the bank of Medicis. In fine, by a fourth treaty Edward agreed to release queen Margaret the daughter of the king of Sicily, who had been prisoner ever since the death of Henry VI. her husband*.

The

* This last article was executed the beginning of the year following (on the 29th of January.) Sir Thomas Montgomery attended this princess into France, and presented a letter to the king, in which Henry renounced all title and claim to Margaret's moveables or effects, and Lewis on his side disclaimed all pretensions to the crown of England, or to any dower or settlement in right of the queen. Shortly after, Margaret transferred to the king

The Day on which these treaties were signed, the two kings had an interview at Aug. 2. Combray, where a very large Bridge was raised over the Somme. A kind of lodge was made, extending the whole breadth of the bridge, and divided in the middle by a partition in the form of a grate or lattice, the holes of which were large enough to admit a man's putting his head through. For the king would not have a barrier that might shut and open, to prevent any such misfortune as that which happened at Montreuil-Bellay, where John the fearless, duke of Burgundy, was

The king set out from Amiens with eight hundred men at arms, and arrived first at the place of interview. Immediately some were dispatched to give notice of it to the king of England, who came attended by part of his army. As he approached the barrier, he bowed almost to the ground, and bowed; the king of France returned the salutation, and then these two princes gave each other hands. Edward made a second bow lower than the first, and the king addressing him said: *Cousin, you are heartily welcome, there is no man living I have desired to see, and thank heaven that we now meet in a friendly manner.*

The king of England returned the compliments to the French: After which, the bishop of Ely his chancellor, produced the instruments and treaties drawn, and asked the king, whether he had sent these articles to the king of England, and whether he approved the treaties as now read? The king answered, that he agreed to all. The Missal was brought and opened, and both kings laid one

and his successors, her claims upon Lorain, and all successions present and to come, as well on the side of her mother Isabella of Lorain, as of her father René of Sicily.

upon the book, and the other upon the cross, and swore religiously to observe the truce.

After the oath, the king invited Edward to come to Paris, and told him with a pleasant Air, that he would there see some very fine Women; and should have the cardinal of Bourbon assigned him for a confessor, whom he would not find inexorable to offences of love and gallantry. After some discourse to this purpose, the two kings ordered their attendants to withdraw. Communes alone was permitted to stay, because he was known to the king of England. Lewis put the question to Edward, how he was to behave, should the duke of Burgundy refuse to be comprehended in the truce. Edward replied, that he would offer it him again, and if he persisted in his refusal, the king might treat him as he saw cause. Lewis afterwards mentioned the duke of Britany; but here Edward told him, that having never in his distress met with a more true and faithful friend, nothing should induce him to abandon that prince. The king immediately changed the discourse, and recalling those whom he had sent away, saluted all the king of England's attendants in the most obliging manner. Both kings retired much at a time from the barrier: Lewis returned to Amiens, and Edward to his army.

The king, as he returned from the interview, told Communes, that he repented of having asked the king of England to come to Paris. *He is a handsome prince, added he, and a great admirer of the ladies; perhaps he may meet with some at Paris, so agreeable and charming, as to give him a desire of making us a second visit. He is a prince I shall like to have for my friend and ally, but would see him as seldom as possible in France; 'tis better to have the sea between us,*

The evening after the interview, Lewis sent the king of England a present of three hundred waggon loads of wine. Great numbers of the English came

to Amiens, and the king invited some of the sup with him. Howard, thinking thereby to his court, told him in his ear, that if he liked he would find a way to bring the king his to him to Paris. His majesty pretended not to him, but after supper, lord Howard renewed proposal, the king, who was now under a necessity of taking notice of it, replied, that nothing would be more agreeable to him, than a visit from the king of England, did not his expedition into the Low Countries against the duke of Burgundy, require his departure immediately.

The kind reception which the first English king with at Amiens, soon drew prodigious numbers of them thither. The king on this occasion, as to behave in a manner very different from the duke of Burgundy, who would admit but few English into Peronne, though they were his allies. Lewis, to give his new allies a proof of confidence, and thereby the more effectually to engage them, ordered the gates of Amiens to be opened to all the English, armed or unarmed, and ordered tables to be set on each side of the street, furnished with a variety of dishes, and great quantities of wine; la Tremouille, Briquet, and other persons of distinction, were placed at the tables, to entertain all the English that came. The English were liberally entertained in all the inns and houses, and had nothing to pay; for so the king ordered, who was himself at all the expence. For four days there was a perpetual concourse of English, often to the number of nine thousand at a time, so much, that it was to be feared, they might become themselves masters of the town. The king was terrified of the danger, and at first blamed the trust; but upon repeated advice sent him, in order to prevent any ill consequences, he commanded three hundred men at arms, to arm pri-

and came himself to the gate of the city, where he dined, and did several English officers the honour of admitting them to dinner with him.

Edward being informed of this disorder, sent to desire the king not to admit so great a number of English into the town. Lewis sent him back word, that he cared not to do that himself; but the king of England might, if he thought proper, send thither a body of archers, to take charge of the gate, and let in, or exclude whom they please; which was accordingly done.

Lewis, to gain effectually such as were in greatest credit with Edward, distributed large sums of money among them, and gave pensions to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns. Hastings, lord chamberlain, had one of two thousand crowns, for which he would never grant a receipt, pretending it was by no means proper, that his name should ever be seen in the chamber of accounts. It would have been yet more to his honour not to have received the pension; but there are, it seems men, who look upon those actions only as dishonourable, of which they can be openly convicted.

This peace, however, was not universally relished in the camp. The duke of Gloucester, Edward's brother, exclaimed loudly against it, and refused to be present at the interview; but coming afterwards to pay his respects to the king, the presents he received on that occasion, made him change his language, and perhaps also his sentiments.

Bretailles, a gentleman of Gascony, who was in the king of England's service, spoke with greater freedom than any of the rest. The army in general, charmed with the king's liberality and magnificence, had got hold of several prophecies, in which they fancied this peace foretold; and as a disposition to believe prodigies, makes one at the same time very apt to see them, many reports of this kind were spread abroad.

abroad in the camp. Bretaillies openly made a jest of these, and told Commynes, that the king of England would lose more glory by this peace, than he had gained in all the battles he had fought. *How many may these be?* said Commynes: *Nine*, answered Bretaillies. *And how many has he lost?* *Only one*, said the other, *and that is this, which he has now lost the opportunity of gaining in France.* The king being informed of this conversation, sent for Bretaillies, made him dine at his own table, promised to take care of those of his family that were settled in France, and presented him with a thousand crowns. Bretaillies was then ready to own that every thing had been done for the best.

Lewis XI. could not conceal his joy upon seeing himself delivered from the English; one day he was letting fall some jests, upon the ease with which he had sent them home; when suddenly turning his head, he perceived a merchant of Gascony that lived in England, and who might have overheard what he said; he went up to him, and asked what he wanted; the merchant begged a Passport for carrying over into England some wines, in which he traded. The king granted his request; but to prevent his returning to England, he gave him an employment in France, and a thousand livres to bring over his wife: *And this penalty*, says Commynes, *the king imposed upon himself, for the too great liberty of his tongue.*

But how advantageous soever the treaty lately concluded might be for France, Edward was far from being dissatisfied with it; he had procured by this armament, what he chiefly wanted, I mean a large supply of money from the house of commons, who never granted extraordinary subsidies in those days, except in case of a war with France. At all other times the kings were obliged to live upon *their own revenues*, for the civil list was not then
known

known in England. Edward had wisely brought over with him several members of the house of commons; men of wealth and opulence, who had been accustomed to a life of ease, were unfit for the fatigues of war, and therefore likely soon to grow weary of a camp. These readily came into the peace, and were therefore led by their own interest after their return, to justify it as advantageous to the nation. Such as might have been inclined to talk in a different strain, were all gained over.

The constable de S. Pol had used all his endeavours to cross the peace. While the treaty between Lewis XI. and Edward was on foot, he sent Lewis de Creville to begin a negotiation. As Contay chanced to be then at court, Lewis was resolved to have him present at the audience he was going to give Creville, and ordered him to hide himself behind a screen. Creville, who believed he spoke to the king only before Bouchage, expressed himself in a manner very injurious to the duke of Burgundy. He said that he was in the greatest rage against Edward, and suffered himself to be transported by his passion even to a pitch of folly. The king pretending not to hear, desired Creville to tell him it over again; who, imagining that he should thereby please the king, enlarged upon the duke's follies, and acted them to the life. He afterwards entered upon the design of his commission; but the king, who wanted only to give Contay an opportunity of hearing in what terms the constable and his creatures spoke of duke Charles, dismissed Creville, and told him that he would send his brother, the constable, an account of his affairs. Contay was impatient to inform the duke, his master, of what had passed, and contributed not a little to spirit him up against S. Pol.

Lewis having finished his treaty with Edward, signed a prolongation of the truce with the king of Arragon till the

Sept. 4.

first

first of July, 1476. Four days after he concluded a treaty, by which he bound himself to assist king Alphonso of Portugal, as king of Castile and Leon, against the king of Arragon, as soon as the Portuguese had driven Ferdinand king of Sicily out of Castile. The prolongation of the truce and this new treaty, were by no means conformable to honour and good faith.

Edward soon after departed for England, accompanied by the bishop of Evreux, leaving lord Howard and Sir John Cheney to remain eight days in the king's hands as hostages. When they took their leave, they delivered up to the king all the letters of the constable to Edward; as also one, where he spoke in very disrespectful terms of that prince, as having suffered himself to be over-reached by the king of France.

Upon the conclusion of the truce and treaty with the English, the duke of Burgundy became sensible that it was his wisest course to make up matters with the king. The two princes agreed upon a truce of nine years, which was signed at *Sept. 13.* Soleure, a small town near Luxembourg, by the duke of Burgundy, and the plenipotentiaries of the king. * It was articulated, that, if

* Commynes pretends, that the duke of Burgundy, having notice of the peace concluded between the French and English, set out immediately from Luxembourg, and came in mighty haste to Edward; that he fell into a violent passion with him, and told him, he had not invited the English over into France, out of any necessity he had of their assistance, but only to put them in a way of recovering what they had lost. and to convince them he could subsist without them, swore he would conclude neither peace nor truce, till the king had been three months in England. If it be indeed true, that the duke of Burgundy reproached Edward, it must have been by letters

if during the continuance of the truce, any city should withdraw its allegiance from its true sovereign, and make an offer of itself on the other side, no encouragement should be given; that particular care should be taken of the security and freedom of husbandry and commerce; that the duke should restore to the king the fortresses of Beaulieu and Vervins, as soon as S. Quintin was surrendered into his hands; and that the lands and seigniories depending on the county of Marle, should remain under the obedience of the king. This treaty being properly nothing more than a renewal of that at Bouvines, the king consented to restore all the towns taken since. In this truce were included the same princes and states comprehended in that lately made with the English, excepting only René, duke of Lorain; and the king also bound himself to assist the duke of Burgundy against the emperor, the city of Cologn, and their adherents.

The duke of Burgundy delivered the same day to the king a writing, signed with his own hand, in which he declared Lewis of Luxembourg, constable of France, a traitor and disturber of the state, promised never to receive him into favour, and to do his utmost to get him apprehended and brought to justice; or if he did not see justice executed upon him

or deputies; for it is certain these two princes saw not one another after the signing of the treaty.

Commines is no less mistaken in supposing, that the king went to Vervins to meet the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors, and appointed the chancellor Doriol to confer with them. It is plain from the relation of John Briçonnet, that the king left Amiens the eighth of September, and that he was at Soissons when the truce of Soleure was signed. Besides, the chancellor Doriol was then in Brittany. Commines was probably led into this error, by a conference, of which he takes no notice, that was held the year following at Noyon, where both Doriol and the chancellor of Burgundy were present.

him himself within eight days after he was taken, he engaged to surrender him into the hands of the king.

Although the duke of Britany was comprehended in all the treaties already made, the king was, notwithstanding, resolved to sign a particular agreement with that prince, wherein he should be bound by oath, and under pain of church-cen-

Art. 9. fures. By this treaty the king overlooking what was past, engaged to assist and support the duke of Britany; who, on his side, was to aid and serve the king against all his enemies without exception; and from that time renounce all alliances and friendships to the prejudice of the crown, without being obliged, however, to march his troops out of his own duchy. The king, it is added, shall also maintain the duke in all his just rights, claims, and prerogatives, in like manner as he enjoyed them under the late king Charles VII. and if need be, shall employ all his forces in his defence.

The subjects and servants of either prince, shall be restored to all their estates and honours, with exemption from all inquest and examination in regard to what is past.

The king shall restore to the duke all the lands and feignories of which he has dispossessed him, and revokes all grants and alienations made of them to others.

The king and duke shall give mutual intelligence to one another, of all the intrigues and schemes formed against them, and of all designs that may come to their knowledge, tending to the disturbance of the publick peace. They likewise promise each, upon their honour, and the faith of a prince, to observe the said treaty, and ratify it with an oath upon the cross of S. Lo, and the relicks of S. Hervé, and S. Gildas.

We see plainly, that in those days, the solemnity of an oath, was looked upon as a better security than the faith of princes; although it is but too evident that neither the one nor the other were much regarded by them.

The king, after taking and receiving the oath, insisted upon the duke's renouncing every other alliance but his own, and particularly his engagements with the king of England; which the duke, a weak friend and timorous enemy, durst not refuse him.

The king having brought this treaty to a conclusion, turned all his attention towards the constable. He had entered into a treaty at Soleure with the duke of Burgundy, not unlike that which was heretofore made between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus, where all for their common interest, sacrificed indifferently their friends and their enemies. Lewis XI. took no notice of René, duke of Lorain, though he had himself stirred him up to make war upon the duke of Burgundy; and this last abandoned the constable, of whom he had indeed reason to complain, but would, nevertheless, have willingly saved him.

The constable knowing that the king had resolved upon his ruin, and that he was approaching S. Quentin at the head of twenty thousand men, found himself under a Necessity of flying for protection to the duke of Burgundy, and accordingly escaped to Mons, of which Aimerics, the only friend he now had, was governor. The king immediately entered S. Quentin, displaced the magistrates, drove all who were of the constable's party from the town, and entirely cleared it of suspected persons. He then sent Gaucourt, Blosset, and Cerisay, to require the duke of Burgundy to deliver up the constable. The duke had no intention to comply; but the king, to add the greater weight to the remonstrances of his ambassadors, gave orders at the same time to la Tremouille,

mouille, who was in Champagne, to advance towards Lorain with five hundred lances.

The duke of Burgundy employed all the artifices he could think of to elude the performance of his promise; but finding that the conquest of Lorain would be a very difficult work, if France opposed him in it, he sent his commands to the lord d'Aimeries, to deliver the constable into the hands of Hugonet and Imbercourt. Even in cases where friendship is strong enough to balance duty, it is yet seldom a match for ambition or fear. Aimeries abandoned his friend, and surrendered him up to his two most inveterate enemies.

Duke Charles was not without his fears, lest the king, when master of the constable's person, should catch at some pretence to aid those of Lorain. He therefore insisted upon his declaring by way of interpretation of the articles of the truce, that the inhabitants of Nancy having granted a retreat to those of Terette, and committed many hostilities in Burgundy, could not claim the benefit of it.

Nov. 12. The king sacrificing his allies to a desire of vengeance, gave letters patents, by which he owned the justice of the duke's complaints against the people of Lorain, and abandoned them to his resentment. By other letters of the same date, the king gave him his choice, either of the confiscated estates of the constable, or the free and undisturbed possession of the towns he had taken, or should hereafter take in Lorain.

The duke of Burgundy requested a delay of some days, in hopes of making himself master of Nancy before the term was expired, and thereby saving the constable: but the siege holding longer than he expected; Hugonet and Imbercourt, yet more faithful to their resentment than the duke's orders, conducted the constable to Peronne, and delivered him on the day appointed to the admiral, and the Sieur de S.

Pierre,

Pierre, captain of the dauphin's guard. About three hours after the prisoner was delivered, a counter-order came from the duke, but it was then too late.

The constable was carried to the Ba-
 stille, where the chancellor, the first pre- *Nov. 27.*
 sident Boulanger, Gaucourt governor of
 Paris, with several presidents, masters of requests,
 and counsellors, waited to receive him. The ad-
 miral addressing them, said, *I surrender into your*
hands Lewis de Luxembourg, count de S. Pol, constable
of France, to be tried by this court, touching the several
charges and accusations that are said to lie against him,
and receive judgment agreeable to what God, reason,
justice, and your own consciences, shall dictate to be right.

To this the chancellor made answer; *since it is the*
king's will and pleasure, to deliver the count de S. Pol,
his constable, into the hands of this court, the sovereign
seat of justice in the kingdom, we shall take account of
the charges that are against him, examine him thereant,
and give such decision as shall seem to us agreeable to rea-
son and justice. After this they all retired, and the
 constable remained a prisoner, under custody of
 Blosset sieur de S. Pierre.

The constable's crime was proved in the clearest
 manner, such of the late duke of Guyenne's officers,
 as had passed into the service of his majesty, disco-
 vered all they knew relating to the constable's in-
 trigues with their master; the king of England had
 delivered up all the letters sent to him; the duke of
 Burgundy, in the first emotions of his rage, had fur-
 nished heavy articles against him; and the duke of
 Bourbon had put into the king's hands a letter from
 the constable, inviting him to join in his treasonable
 intrigues.

The day after the prisoner's arrival, the chancel-
 lor, the first president, and the governor of Paris,
 assisted by nine counsellors, Denis Hesselin, master
 of the king's household, and Aubert le Visle, coun-
 sellor

fellor and judge in chancery, went over to the bastille in consequence of an order of parliament. The chancellor demanded of the constable, whether he chose to write down his deposition himself, or dictate it to another in order to its being sent to the king, or undergo an examination agreeable to the usual forms. The constable asked time to consider of it, and a little after noon declared, that he submitted to be examined according to the legal forms of trial; upon which they proceeded immediately to interrogate him.

The constable declared, that when he was last at Mons, *Hector de l'Ecluse* told him, of the duke of Burgundy's having discovered to him a design he had formed against the king's life, but without explaining the manner of it; that several persons had hinted to him the possibility of something happening that might contribute to his deliverance; and that having demanded of the bailiff of Hainault what this discourse could mean, he received for answer, that the duke of Burgundy was to have an interview with the king at *Etrees-au-Pont*, near *Guise*, where something might be transacted of the greatest advantage to the duke. The constable added, that he understood it of taking or killing the king.

The chancellor and commissioners questioned him, whether *Hector de l'Ecluse* had said any thing particular to him about a design of taking or killing the king. He answered, *No*: but that having sent *John le Comte* his bailiff in *Cambresis* to the duke of Burgundy, one of that prince's secretaries told le Comte, that it was in the constable's power to give the finishing stroke to their designs, by killing or taking the king at the projected interview; that le Comte answering he would propose the thing to his master; the duke drawing near him, asked, whether he perfectly understood his secretary's meaning. The constable added, that being afterwards at *Valenciennes*, the duke had expressed himself in a manner so shocking, with regard to the king, that he
-treated

entreated him to change the discourse; at which the duke appeared highly offended. He said, further, that he had been often urged to endeavour at an interview between the king and the duke, but always gave for answer, that he would sooner die, than do what was required of him.

The constable underwent four several examinations at different times; after which the minutes of his trial were read in parliament before a full assembly of all the chambers. It was then resolved to proceed to judgment against him; and as several obscure articles were found in his confession, the chancellor and commissioners were ordered to interrogate him once more, and digest his confession in writing, which was thereupon to be of the same force, as if made in presence of the whole parliament. Accordingly the chancellor and commissioners went to interrogate the constable a-new, who answered, that he had already made full confession of all he knew.

Next day all the chambers assembled, the constable's last confession was read, and it was resolved to proceed immediately to judgment. On Tuesday the nineteenth of December, Blosset went to fetch him from the Bastille, and brought him into the hall of the chamber of criminals: there the chancellor rising up and addressing him, said; *M. de S. Pol, you have always passed for one of the bravest and most undaunted lords of the kingdom, and must not forfeit that character to day, when you stand in greater need than ever of all your courage and firmness.* He then required him to deliver up the collar of the king's order, and the constable's sword. S. Pol surrendered the collar after kissing it; as for the constable's sword, he told them that had been taken from him when he was arrested. Upon this, the president de Popincourt entered, and read the decree of parliament, which declared him attainted and
convicted

nal, who instead of being sacrificed to justice and the publick tranquillity, seems the victim of vengeance, ambition, and avarice. 'Tis thus that princes, by suffering passion to have a share in their determinations, often destroy the merit of the justest actions.

B O O K V I I I.

1476.
Easter,
April 24.

HITHERTO the duke of Burgundy's life has been a continued train of battles, or rather of rash headstrong attempts, followed sometimes with success, which served only to push him towards the precipice, down which he is going to be hurried. Heaven sometimes pours down vengeance upon princes in full measure; and God in punishing their crimes, discharges the whole weight of his indignation with visible marks of resentment; making them examples of his justice to those very nations, among whom they ought to have shone out patterns of virtue.

The duke of Burgundy, whose restless disposition and savage valour were ever furnishing him with motives to war, turned his arms against the Switzers, under pretence of their having promoted the revolt in Ferette, and committed some hostilities in the territories of the count de Romont his ally. Never was a war so fatal in its consequences, undertaken upon slighter grounds. The quarrel arose upon occasion of a cart-load of sheep-skins belonging to a merchant of Switzerland, which the count de Romont had caused to be seized in consideration of some claims he had upon him. The king, at least, *in appearance*, did all in his power to prevent the

war. The Switzers, on their side, left no means untried to soften the duke, and bring him to reason. They offered to make restitution of whatever had been taken from the count de Romont, to renounce all alliances contrary to his interest, even that with France, and to serve him against the king with a body of six thousand men. They represented that he could draw no advantage from the conquest of Switzerland, and that the very bridles of his army was worth more than their whole country. But neither the submission of the Switzers, nor the advice of his wisest officers, could make any impression on the duke's ambition. The taking of Nancy and some other slight advantages gained upon his first entering Switzerland, made him believe that all must receive law from him. Already he had conquered in imagination, all the states and principalities around him, and formed the project of carrying his victorious arms into Italy.

The duke laying siege to Granfon, took it, and obliged the garison, which consisted of five hundred men, to surrender at discretion. Some historians pretend that there was a capitulation, by which the Switzers were to march out safe and unhurt: but the duke, no less barbarous than perfidious, delivered them into the hands of his camp-marshal, who ordered four hundred of them to be hanged upon Trees, and the remaining hundred to be drowned.

The Switzers, who had armed in great haste, were advancing to succour Granfon, when they received accounts of that town's being taken: probably they would not have dared to continue their march farther, but the duke himself approached with his army to meet them. Nay, he committed still a greater fault upon this occasion; for, instead of keeping the plain where victory must unavoidably have declared for him, he resolved, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, to enter the defiles by

which the enemy was to advance. Accordingly, he put himself at the head of a select body of horse, and charged their first battalions. The Switzers stood firm; and the duke, who had engaged rashly, not being supported, was obliged to retire in order to rally his men, and give the rest of the army time to come up. The Switzers took advantage of this disorder, and pressed him with so much vigour, that his first line was totally routed. Upon this, the terror became general; for the front-ranks being driven back upon those that stood next them, and they again upon the others that followed in order, the whole army was dissipated and broken, and the duke himself so intrepid on all occasions, fled as far as Nonroy. His fool, nicknamed *le Glorieux*, who had often heard him speak of the valour of Hannibal, cried out as they fled, *here we run, Sir, like true Hannibals*. The loss however was not so great as the fright: but all the baggage, the tents, provisions, artillery, and the duke's rich furniture, which he had brought with him to make a display of his grandeur and wealth to foreigners, fell into the enemy's hands. The Switzers so little understood the value of the rich booty they were possessed of, that they sold the silver-plate for a trifle, supposing it to be pewter. Nor did they make a better hand of his jewels. One of them who found * the duke's finest diamond, gave it away for a florin. The conquerors retook Granson and some other fortresses, which the duke had made himself master of before the battle, and taking down the bodies of their companions, hung up as many Burgundians in their stead.

The king was not able to dissemble his joy upon hearing of the duke of Burgundy's defeat. He had
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* It is now the second diamond of the *French* crown, known by the name of Sancy.

in the beginning of this year proposed a very singular case of conscience, namely, *whether he could, without offence to God and his own conscience, permit, suffer, or tolerate, any princes, potentates, or states, who either had or might have cause of quarrel with the duke of Burgundy, to make war upon and distress him.*

A prince who after treaties sworn to and confirmed, proposes doubts of this kind, seems less inclined to dissolve real scruples and remorse, than to seek a pretext of imposing upon his people. The answer given upon this occasion was, *that considering what had been the constant tenor of the duke of Burgundy's conduct, both towards the king and kingdom, his majesty might not only leave other princes at liberty to act as they saw cause, but even intimate to them, that in case of a war with the duke of Burgundy, they had no resentment or opposition to fear from him; he was however, upon no account, to sollicite them to a war, or assist them in it.*

What an idea does this give of the faith of princes! with what indignation ought we to regard the meanness of those who are capable of suggesting such low subterfuges, more criminal and ungenerous than an open rupture.

Lewis XI. having now nothing to fear from the duke of Burgundy, began to think of his other enemies, less powerful indeed, but not less dangerous. He was fully apprized of king René's having for some time past held intelligence with the enemies of the state, and by his instigations, prevailed upon Charles, duke of Calabria, his nephew, and the son of the count du Maine, to join in the constable's intrigues.

The king wrote to the parliament, that he should be sorry to find the king of Naples his uncle guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; but as the interest of the state ought to take place of every other consideration, he willed the court to come to a resolution upon the measures necessary to secure the publick tranquillity,

tranquillity, desiring them at the same time, to send the result of their deliberations to him, that he might proceed accordingly. The parliament made answer, that after mature debate, the court was of opinion, his majesty might justly proceed against the king of Naples, by seizing his person : However, in consideration of his great age, of his being a prince of the blood, and that they knew the king to be averse to the rigorous method of imprisonment, they only proposed, that he might be summoned to appear in person before his sovereign, or a court of peers, deputed and chosen by him for that purpose, under pain of banishment, and confiscation of body and estates. René, instead of obeying the summons, resolved to throw himself upon the duke of Burgundy, and make him his heir. The affair was even very far advanced : A son of the prince of Orange was gone into Piedmont, with twenty thousand crowns, to raise troops, to take possession of Provence. But the battle of Granson, by changing the face of affairs, obliged also the king of Naples to change his measures. The duke of Burgundy's officers, who were in Piedmont, took to flight ; and some natives of Provence, who had the management of the intrigue, being seized, discovered all. The king then perceived the danger he was threatened with, had the duke of Burgundy vanquished the Switzers ; for the houses of Anjou and Savoy, and the duke of Milan, were ready to have attacked France on every side. But this defeat of duke Charles, made all his friends fall off from him, and fear urged them to court the king's friendship. René sent the duke of Calabria to him, to represent the concern he was under, for having lost his favour, and to entreat him to put an end to the scandal occasioned by the proceedings against a prince of the blood, who desired nothing so much as to finish his days in peace.

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The king, who never cared to come to extremities, where there was any hope of succeeding in the way of negotiation, dispatched ambassadors to king René. This prince received them at Arles, and there delivered into their hands an obligation, whereby he engaged, upon the honour and faith of a king, to hold no intelligence, league, or alliance with the duke of Burgundy, or any other enemy of France; and never to be accessory to the surrendering of Provence into their hands. René some time after made the king a visit at Lyons, and brought with him Cossa, seneschal of Provence, a man inviolably attached to the interest of his master, and who perfectly understood the Art of suiting himself to times, persons, and conjunctures. In his first conference with the king, instead of vainly disputing about facts, or amusing him with idle excuses, which, for the most part, serve only to inflame and aggravate matters: *If the king, my master, and your uncle, (says he to Lewis XI.) has offered to make the duke of Burgundy his heir, it was by the advice of his best friends, and particularly mine. You who were his nephew had behaved injuriously and unhand somely to him, in depriving him of his rightful possessions. We therefore promoted this treaty with the duke of Burgundy, that your majesty hearing of it, might be induced to do us justice, and to call to mind, that the king my master, is your uncle; but we never intended to bring the treaty to a conclusion.* The king was pleased with Cossa's freedom, and treated René the more favourably for it.

Accordingly, it was agreed to revoke the seizure made of the duchy of Anjou, upon condition, that the governor should still be named by the king, and take an oath of fidelity to him. In consequence of which, René put into the king's hands a patent, constituting a governor, with a blank for the name; and Lewis, pleased with this instance of submission,

made further restitution of the duchy of Bar, and all the lands holding of the county of Champagne.

The scandalous chronicle says, *that about this time, the king of Sicily appointed, that after his death, the county of Provence should revert in full property to the king, and be united to the crown; and that the queen of England, who was Edward's prisoner, was upon this occasion also ransomed for the sum of fifty thousand crowns in gold, in consideration of which, the said queen of England yielded and made over to the king, all her claims and demands upon the aforesaid county of Provence.*

But in this, the author is mistaken. Queen Margaret was released in the month of November, and had signed this deed of resignation of the seventh of March, two months before the treaty concluded between Lewis XI. and king René.

The good understanding re-established between the king and the house of Anjou, did not suspend the proceedings against the marshal Rouault, who had been taken into custody, upon an accusation of the constable de S. Pol, charging him with being too strictly engaged to the house of Anjou. The sentence given against him at Tours by the council, makes no mention of these engagements; *But it accuses him of having given in false muster-rolls, and committed divers exactions, for which he is condemned in a fine of twenty thousand livres, deprived of all his employments, and banished the realm.* The article relating to his banishment did not take place: He died in about two years after.

Mean time, René, duke of Lorain, desirous to take advantage of the blow which the duke of Burgundy had received before Granfon, waited on the king at Lyons, and earnestly solicited succours. Lewis, as he durst not openly violate the truce, so was he loth to abandon a prince with whom he had entered into engagements before the treaty of Soleure. *The king had resolved not to take part directly in the*
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the quarrel, but secretly to favour as much as he could, the duke of Burgundy's enemies. He contented himself therefore with giving duke René a small sum of money, and a guard of four hundred lances, to conduct him as far as Sarbourg. The lords Nassau, Bische, Fenestrange, Richebourg, and several gentlemen of Distinction joined him, and attended him as far as Strasbourg, where the Switzers sent deputies to him to offer him the command of their army.

The duke of Burgundy was so mortified at the loss of the battle of Granfon, that he fell into a deep melancholy, which very much altered his health. When he gave orders, it was with an air of distraction and fury, that made him terrible to all who approached him. The duke and duchess of Savoy came to see him at Laufanne, where he was ill, expressed great concern at his misfortune, and furnished him all the succours in their power. Charles, wholly taken up with thoughts of vengeance, was drawing together troops from all parts, and soon had an army on foot, more numerous than before the battle of Granfon, with which he marched in order to lay siege to Morat, a town situated on the lake of that name.

The Switzers had taken care to fortify it well. The duke was fifteen days before it, and gave three several assaults, but was always repulsed with loss. Hearing that the Switzers and their allies, to the number of about thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, were upon their march, he resolved to take account of their forces in person, and advanced with his army to meet them. It was in vain, that some of his most experienced officers advised him to raise the siege, and wait for the enemy in the plain, where his cavalry, superior in number to theirs, would have a great advantage over them. Rage hindered him from viewing things in a just

light, and presumption shut his ears against good counsel. For he was no sooner within sight of the allies, commanded by the duke of Lorain, but he

grew impatient for a battle, which he
June 22. was obliged to put off till the next day, much against his will, by reason of a violent fall of rain. Mean time, part of the Swiss infantry took post behind a hedge, where the enemy's cavalry could not penetrate. The duke of Burgundy ordered a body of Franc-archers to attack them; but being repulsed with great vigour, and not receiving any assistance from the horse, they endeavoured to retreat in good order. Whereon the Switzers falling upon them with great fury, entirely broke them, and made a dreadful slaughter. At the same time the besieged made a vigorous sally: Galiot de Genouillac a brave and experienced officer, whose advice the duke had slighted, sustained for some time with two hundred lances the efforts of the garison; but being at length overpowered by numbers, the whole Burgundian army was put to rout. This battle, in the giving of which the duke acted no less imprudently than at Granfon, was in like manner lost by a repetition of the same faults. Historians speak differently of the number of the slain, which they raise from eight to twenty thousand. So far is certain, that the loss was very considerable, and in particular there fell many officers of distinction, as Antony of Luxembourg, count de Marle, du Mas, Grimbergh, Rosembois, Mailli, Montagu, Bournonville, besides a great number of others. The run-aways who endeavoured to retire to Lausanne, were surrounded and cut in pieces by the count de Gruiere: Some companies who were upon their march from Italy, to join the army of duke Charles, were fallen upon by the peasants and massacred: The Paix des Vaux, and all the country round Geneva were sacked. The duke fled to Gex; but

but not thinking himself safe there, passed the mountains, and retired to S. Claud. The duke of Lorain distinguished himself in a particular manner in this battle. The Switzers were so fully convinced that they were indebted to him for the victory, that they resigned to him the ammunition, artillery, and in general, all that was found in the camp of the vanquished.

The duke of Burgundy was at first under some apprehension, that the king would take advantage of the present conjuncture, and break the truce. By this it appears how little he understood the genius of Lewis XI. who seeing the duke hastening to his ruin, took care not to give him any disturbance which might oblige him to change his measures. The conduct he observed on this occasion, proved much more prejudicial to the duke's affairs; he wrote to Dammartin, to hold *June 24.* himself always in readiness, yet without for the present undertaking any thing; and at the same time laboured underhand to corrupt the duke's principal officers. He found Campobasso very ready to enter into his designs. It is generally supposed, that this unhappy man's hatred to his master, proceeded from a box on the ear, the duke once gave him; but it is probable, that avarice had the greatest share in it. For having the command of the Italian troops, and the distribution of their pay, he drew great advantages from it. He was greatly disgusted at the duke's disbanding some Italian companies of ordinance, and reducing his own to two hundred men, and pushed his resentment so far, as to leave the court of Burgundy, and retire into Brittany. The king thought this a proper time to make proposals to Campobasso; who not only consented to abandon the duke, but even to deliver him into his Hands, or kill him. Lewis abhorring the perfidy, gave the duke information of it, who imagin-

ing it was only done with design to create in him a distrust of his officers, began to have the greater confidence in Campobasso, and immediately recalled him.

As soon as the king saw the duke of Burgundy engaged in a war with the Switzers, he came to Lyons, where he spent several months, in order to be at hand to take advantage of all events. The battles of Granfon and Morat, soon convinced him, that he could not more effectually ruin the duke of Burgundy, than by abandoning him to the dictates of his own fury, imprudence and presumption. He therefore returned to Pleffis-les-Tours; but before he set out, thought fit to put a stop to the encroachments of the cardinal de la Rovere, stiled by historians the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula. He was nephew of pope Sixtus IV. and legate of Avignon. Being a man of a violent and enterprizing temper, he generally made one forward attempt the foundation for another, and aimed at extending his legation into the archbishoprick of Lyons. The king appointed commissioners to examine into the bulls, briefs, rescripts, and in general all the dispatches from Rome, with orders to suppress such as should be found contrary to the rights of the Gallican church. He even summoned the pope to fulfil the canon of the council of Constance, enjoining, that a general council should be held every five years, threatening in case of refusal, to call a national one in France; and the more effectually to intimidate the court of Rome, ordered some troops to enter the Comtat. The legate, now as submissive as he had before been arrogant, came in a suppliant manner to the king; who treating him at first with great distance, in order to make him sensible of his duty, and the respect he owed his prince, was at last induced to pardon him, and entrust him with the management of the affairs of France at the court of Rome. The

The duke of Burgundy was become so infatuated, that every step he took, pushed him on to his ruin, making him lose his allies and best friends. The duchess of Savoy coming to visit him, in order to comfort him under his disaster, as she had before done on a like occasion, passed four days with him. The duke, whose head was then full of suspicions and gloomy ideas, considering the alliance of this princess as the first cause of all his misfortunes, gave orders to Olivier de la Marche, to apprehend her, with the princes her sons, as she was returning to her own dominions. La Marche placed himself in ambuscade near Geneva, surrounded the duchess with all her train, and carried her off. As the night was extremely dark, some of her most faithful domesticks found means to escape with the young duke. La Marche took the duchess up behind him, and committing her second son and two daughters to some of the most trusty of his followers, brought them all to S. Claud. Duke Charles understanding that the young duke of Savoy had escaped, was minded to put la Marche to death, and ordered the duchess to be conducted to the castle of Rouvre near Dijon.

As soon as Lewis XI. was informed that the duchess of Savoy was retained by the duke of Burgundy as a prisoner, forgetting all subjects of complaint against her, he began to consider her with the affection and tenderness of a brother. That princess had ill consulted her affairs, in entering into an alliance with duke Charles. In reality had he beaten the Switzers, Savoy became a necessary appendage to his conquests, and must have been seized as affording a convenient inlet to Italy; for this prince thought it reason enough to lay claim to any country, that it was commodiously situated for him. On the other hand, the Switzers being victorious, the duchess had every thing to fear from them, after
having

having openly declared herself their enemy ; but the king's goodness disengaged her from these embarrassments.

The states of Savoy seeing how much they stood in need of the king's protection, deputed the count of Bresse, and the bishop of Geneva, both uncles of the young duke, to wait upon him. Lewis, who was perfectly acquainted with the ambition and restless character of these two princes, did not think proper to trust his nephew in their hands. He therefore transferred that charge to Philbert de Grolee, gave the government of Piedmont to the count of Bresse, that of Savoy to the bishop of Geneva, and committed the defence of Montmellian to Miolans, who took an oath not to surrender the city or castle into any hands but those of his majesty. The king having thus provided for the security of Savoy, began next to think of rescuing his sister. He gave a commission for that purpose to Chaumont d'Amboise, who acquitted himself of it with great prudence, and brought the duchess to Tours. The king went thither to meet her, and said in first accosting her: *Madam of Burgundy, you're heartily welcome.* The duchess answered, *that she was no Burgundian, but a good Frenchwoman, and ready to serve his majesty.* Her stay at Tours was short, the king being no less impatient to see her depart, than she was to return into her own Dominions: they entered into a solemn and mutual oath of amity for the future, and instruments to that purpose were interchangeably delivered; parted well satisfied with one another, and ever after lived in the strictest union and friendship.

Galeas duke of Milan, was not more backward than the rest to renounce the alliance of the duke of Burgundy. Princes are seldom fond of entering into engagements with the unhappy ; and duke Charles's misfortunes made him every day lose some of his allies. Galeas sent ambassadors to Lewis XI. to re-
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new the ancient treaties between them ; to declare that he was ready to do him homage for Genoa and Savona, and to assure him, that in all the treaties concluded with the duke of Burgundy, he had never intended any thing injurious to his majesty's interest. The king was very sensible that the duke of Milan acted in this manner out of necessity ; but he did not give himself much trouble about the motives by which princes were swayed, provided he could draw them off from the interests of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Britany seeing all the *Aug. 9.* world forsake the alliance of Burgundy, began to think that it would not be safe for him to persevere in it any longer. Duke Charles was too much taken up with the care of his own defence, to attend to the protection of his allies. The king of England had concluded a peace with France, and the little glory acquired in his last expedition made it likely he would not be very forward to attempt another. These reasons were sufficient to persuade him, that it was his true interest to court the friendship of Lewis XI. Accordingly he dispatched his chancellor, and Coetquen grand master of his household, in quality of his ambassadors, to swear to the peace concluded at Senlis. The only difficulty that arose was in regard to the oath ; the duke insisted that the king should swear upon the cross of S. Lo ; and Lewis absolutely refused to take that oath, in regard to several articles that appeared to him ambiguously expressed, or which perhaps he never sincerely intended to perform : The whole was an unaccountable mixture of perfidy and devotion. After several proposals on both sides, they at last agreed to swear mutually to defend one another, and even to give secret intimation of whatever designs might be formed to either's prejudice. Thus far the form of the oath was the same to both ; but there was

moreover

moreover a clause added in the duke's, whereby he bound himself not to disturb the king in the enjoyment of what belonged to him in Britany. This article, in owning the king's rights without expressing them, was not unlikely to become a source of future disputes.

The king now in perfect security, as to what concerned his own dominions, began to think of succouring his allies. Alphonso V. king of Portugal had lately lost at Toro all the glory he had formerly acquired in Africa. That day so fatal to his interest, absolutely decided the crown of Castile in favour of Ferdinand son to the king of Arragon. It is besides known, that these two last princes, under pretence of appeasing the troubles of Navarre, fought to usurp that crown from Francis Phœbus count de Foix, the son of Magdalen of France. Lewis fearing lest the king of Arragon should march his forces towards Roussillon, ordered a body of troops thither, under the command of the lord d'Albret, and Yvon du Fou. Some skirmishes happened, but as it was neither for the interest of France, nor the kings of Arragon and Castile, to continue the war, the truce was renewed. The king of Portugal in hopes that Lewis, not barely confining himself to the defence of Roussillon, would moreover furnish him with succours, came into France to solicit them. The king sent some noblemen to meet him as far as Rouen, and received him with the greater marks of honour, as he was resolved not to render him any real services. He gave him to understand that his distrust of the duke of Burgundy hindered him from employing his forces elsewhere. Alphonso naturally sincere, had not the least suspicion of dissimulation on the part of Lewis XI. he even persuaded himself, that he would find it no hard task to make up matters between him and the duke of Burgundy, and then doubted

doubted not of being powerfully supported by both. In this belief he set out from Tours, in order to wait upon the duke of Burgundy, who was before Nancy.

The duke of Lorain, after the battle of Morat, marched along the Rhine to Strasbourg. This prince as yet had no other dependance than upon the glory he had lately acquired, the good will of his subjects, and the hatred they bore to the duke of Burgundy. Charles, vanquished as he was, had still powerful resources. His great reputation fought for him, and he might have recovered his losses, and triumphed over his enemies, had he been able to bear up against himself. But instead of that, giving way to a fatal melancholy, he lived two months without seeing any body, and even life itself was become a burden to him. This alteration in his temper soon affected his constitution, and greatly impaired his health. He was liable often to great depressions of spirits, from which he would change suddenly to a fit of rage and distraction. It was in vain that remedies were applied to calm those dangerous sallies, which, as they contributed not to re-establish the tranquillity of his mind, still left the source of the evil behind.

While Charles thus continued in a state of inaction, duke René was busied in securing alliances and friends. Their number encreased daily, many being prompted by a regard to his youth, his misfortunes, and the justice of his cause. The town of Espinal declaring for him, this first success revived the hopes of his party; and the young prince soon found himself at the head of six thousand men, animated by the confidence of his former victory.

The heat of a party in its first beginning, is rather violent than lasting. René perceiving that it would be impossible to retain long within the bounds of discipline, an army ill paid, and composed for the
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most part of soldiers of fortune, laid siege to Nancy, not doubting but the recovery of his capital, would soon put him in possession of all the rest of his dominions. Every thing conspired to favour his design. The Burgundians were hated in the country, and the town itself was ill provided for defence. The principal strength of the garison consisted in a body of three hundred English, commanded by captain Colpin. No sooner did the want of provisions begin to be felt in the city, than the discontent of the English broke out in murmurs and complaints. Their commander kept them quiet for some time,

but he being killed in the progress of the
Octob. 6. siege, they could no longer be restrained; and Bievres, the governor of the town, was forced to capitulate. The garison were allowed to march out with all their baggage; they that chose to remain in the town, were to enjoy their former privileges, and such of the natives of Lorain, as were rather inclined to follow the party of the duke of Burgundy, had a month granted them to retire and dispose of their effects. When Bievres waited on the duke of Lorain, that prince imbraced him tenderly, and thanked him for the kind treatment shewn his subjects during the time he was governor. Bievres, charmed with this proof of the conqueror's goodness, could not forbear saying, with tears in his eyes, *I see too well this war will not end but with the death of my master.*

Upon the first news of the siege of Nancy, the duke of Burgundy recovering from the lethargy in which he had lain buried for some time, sent orders into the several parts of his dominions for the levying of men and money. He spoke always with a boisterous threatening air, but after his disgraces, the awe of his authority was considerably abated, and his assuming obstinacy had very much cooled the zeal of his subjects. Tired at length with his extravagant

it and multiplied demands, the Flemings sent him word, that if he was pressed by the Germans and Switzers, and had not sufficient force with him to secure a retreat into his own dominions, they were ready to expose their lives and fortunes in his defence, and would, upon first intimation, come, and at the hazard of all that is dear to them, lead him back in safety; but that it is by no means their intention to aid him with men and money for the carrying on of unnecessary wars. Princes are seldom capable of listening with patience to such plain truths. This answer, which reproached the king openly with the little regard he shewed for the lives and estates of his subjects, served only to heighten his fury. But what gave him the greatest mortification was, that having always slighted the advice of his generals, he could impute his misfortunes only to himself: these faults however, though they excited remorse, did not conduce to make him more wise or fore-seeing.

Lewis XI. was the person he stood most in fear of in his present circumstances. The antipathy these two princes had conceived against one another from their youth, made them dread each other in their misfortunes. They had agreed to have an interview between Auxerre and Joigny; but Charles understanding that the king had ordered some of his Gens-arms to file off towards the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, was possessed with the notion, that he designed to break the truce, and therefore hastened to Lorain to the relief of Nancy. Being informed on his march, that the place had surrendered, he advanced with design to give René battle. But the young prince, not imagining himself strong enough, left a good garison in Nancy, and threw some troops into the adjacent towns, to stop the progress of the Burgundian army, while he, in the meantime, went to sollicite the Switzers and Germans for supplies.

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The king, far from taking any advantage of the present situation of the duke of Burgundy, gave him fresh intimation of the count de Campobasso's treason; but Charles, blinded by his hatred of his rival, considered every thing that came from that quarter, as contrived on purpose to ensnare him. He could not prevail with himself to believe that Lewis would have rejected such an offer, more especially as he had more than once suspected his own life to be in danger from the like attempts. John Hardy had been quartered, upon an accusation of designing to poison the king, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy. The constable had also charged the duke with this treacherous project, and the parliament had lately condemned to death one John Ben, convicted of being suborned by the duke of Burgundy to poison the dauphin.

Mean time Charles formed the siege of Nancy, and entrusted the count de Campobasso with the command of the principal attack. This faithless man, fearing lest the duke, notwithstanding his present prepossession, might at length come to be undeceived, resolved, in order to his own security, to consummate, as soon as possible, the crime of which he had formed the project. To that end he applies himself to Cifron de Baschier, master of the household to the duke of Lorain, offering either to assassinate, or deliver up duke Charles; and, in the mean time, by secret practices, to lengthen out the siege. He likewise acquainted him with all duke Charles's Designs, his plan of operations, and the dispositions of his attacks. Cifron, desirous to make advantage of this last piece of advice, undertook to throw himself into the place with a troop of gentlemen, all firmly attached to the interest of duke René. Many succeeded in the attempt; but it happening that some were made prisoners, the duke of Burgundy ordered them to be immediately hanged, affirming,

affirming, that whoever endeavoured to reinforce the garison of a town after it was invested, ought to be looked upon as criminals, and to suffer death by the law of arms. Cifron, who was one of the prisoners, requested to be carried to the duke, as having a secret of the greatest importance, and that nearly concerned his person to communicate to him, adding, that he could discover it to none besides himself. Campobasso knowing that the secret could be no other than his own treachery, persuaded the duke, that it was only an artifice to gain time, and ordered his execution to be hastened. Cifron, as they were carrying him to punishment, pressed so warmly to be admitted into the duke's presence, assuring them that he would have cause to repent of it, if this was refused him; that several who heard him, went again to the duke, to prevail with him to grant the prisoner the hearing he demanded with so much earnestness. But Campobasso, who was absolute master in the camp, stood at the duke's tent-door, refused them entrance, and told them, that the duke ordered him to be executed immediately.

The duke of Lorain, by way of reprisals, ordered a hundred and twenty Burgundian prisoners to be hanged in like manner, with a writing fastened to each, which ran thus : *For the shocking inhumanity, and cruel murder committed on the person of the late Cifron de Baschier and his companions, who as they were faithfully and loyally discharging their duty to their master, were made prisoners by the duke of Burgundy, whose tyrannical temper prompted him unjustly to shed human blood, am I here condemned to end my days.*

René, who was destitute both of ammunition and troops, must have lost Nancy almost as soon as he had taken it, but for the treachery of Campobasso, and the blindness of duke Charles. This prince, continually preyed upon by a fatal melancholy, that sometimes

sometimes bereaved him of his understanding, had neglected to draw together the remains of his army: and when roused at length, by the progress of the enemy, he took the field, it was with so little precaution, that advancing with only a few men drawn together in haste, he contented himself with writing to Dufay governor of Luxembourg, to assemble the ban and arriere-ban, a resource that rather denotes the distress of a state, than serves to remedy its misfortunes. This body, in appearance composed of the flower of a nation, more distinguished by its valour than exactness of discipline, has not always performed the services that might have been expected from it. To add to all these misfortunes, the army not only suffered much from sickness, but was also greatly weakened by desertion. The count de Chimay, upon reviewing it, thought it his duty to represent to the duke, that he had not above three thousand effective men: but the prince in a rage, and rather provoked at the generous freedom of a faithful subject, answered: *Were I single, I would not decline the fight, but as for you, it appears that you are of the house of Vaudemont* *. Chimay withdrew, saying, *That if it came to a battle, he would make it appear, that he was a Frenchman, loyal, and nobly descended, and give proofs of it at the hazard of his life.* The king of Portugal, who was now with the duke of Burgundy, and a witness of all his extravagant behaviour, plainly saw, that it was in vain to expect succours from a prince, who so little knew his own wants, and therefore withdrew without soliciting any.

The duke of Lorain had already got together about eight thousand men, whom he reviewed under the walls of Basil; but as the money that had been promised

* René, the second of that name, duke of Lorain, was descended of Ferri count of Vaudemont, the second son of duke John.

misd them was not wholly paid, they threatened to disband. 'Tis said, that only twelve florins were wanting of the sum stipulated, and that had not count Oswal de Tierstein lent them, René could not have kept his army together. He now waited only for the succours which the Germans had engaged to send him, and upon their arrival, advanced towards Nancy. It was indeed high time, for the garison were in want of every thing. The famine was so extreme, that after having eaten up all their horses, they were reduced to feed upon dogs, rats, and mice. Upon the duke
1477.
of Lorain's approach, the count de Campobasso abandoned the Burgundian army, *Jan. 4.* and came to join René with two hundred lances. The Germans refused to receive him, declaring they would have no communication with traitors. The French who served in the army of Lorain, in like manner rejected two Italian officers, who had brought two hundred Gendarmes with them from Charles's camp; insomuch, that they were obliged to join Campobasso, who had encamped at Pont de Buffiere, in order to fall upon the Burgundians, if being routed, any of them should attempt to escape by the way of Luxembourg.

On Sunday the fifth of *January*, the duke of Lorain ordered mass to be said early in the morning at the head of his army, and marched in order of battle. All Charles's officers were for raising the siege, and avoiding an engagement. They represented to him, that he ought to wait the arrival of the troops levying in his provinces, that he would then be superior to the enemy; whereas a battle in his present circumstances must necessarily prove fatal. The duke rejected this advice with scorn, told them he would never fly before a young man, and began his march. The two armies soon came within sight; René drew up his men in the plains of Neuville:

ville : His van consisted of seven thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The command of the infantry was given to William Harfer, general of the Switzers, and that of the cavalry to the count de Tierstein ; they had under them the bastard of Vaudemont, Visse, Bassompierre, l'Estang, Sytano, Malortie, and Oriole. The main body included eight thousand foot, who were supported by fifteen hundred horse on the right, and five hundred on the left. The rear did not exceed eight hundred men all foot, who were to send detachments every where, according as necessity required. René himself led the main body, and had for officers under him the counts de Salins and Linange, with the lords de Bitche, Paffenhausen, Bassompierre, Waltrin, Gerbeviller, Ligneville, Lenoncourt, Jacob de Pavoye, S. Amand and Blomont.

The duke of Burgundy was encamped near Jarville, about half a league from Nancy. As he had taken the resolution to defend his intrenchments with the few troops he had about him, the body of men with which he was to make head against duke René, did not exceed two thousand ; he gave the right wing to Galiot, the left to Jossé de Lalain, and himself took post in the centre at the head of the volunteers.

René passed the little rivulet of Hevillecour, which separated the two armies. The Switzers, according to an antient custom, falling prostrate, kissed the ground as a token of their resolution to vanquish or die, and then began to advance. But perceiving that the way, by which they were to march, was lined with the enemy's artillery, they left some battalions to amuse and keep the Burgundians in play, and stole up behind an hedge in order to set upon them in flank. Waltrin observing that the duke of Burgundy had not taken possession of all the plain as far as the wood, detached four hundred

dred French horse to begin the attack ; while another body were to fetch a compass, and charge the Burgundians in the rear.

The engagement began with equal ardour on both sides. They of Lorain fought to regain their country and rightful prince ; the Burgundians called to mind their former victories, and even drew motives of courage from the consideration of their late defeats : But the Switzers exerted themselves in so extraordinary a manner, that it was not long before victory declared for them. The Burgundians, charged at once on all sides, and overpowered by numbers, begun to lose courage, and think of providing for their own safety. Galiot returned several times to the charge ; the duke of Burgundy exposed himself as much as the meanest soldier ; and appeared in all parts where his presence was wanted. But it was in vain that by his example he strove to revive the courage of his troops. The rout soon became general, and the duke, spent with fatigue and wounded, was born away in the flight. Claude Blomont, seneschal of S. Die pursued him : We are told that the duke called out for quarter, but that Blomont, being deaf, and not knowing what he said, unhorsed him with his lance. The unhappy prince, oppressed with fatigue, wounds, and the weight of his armour, not being able to recover himself, was trampled to death in the crowd. Others will have it, that he was killed by some men suborned by Campobasso, and placed near him for that purpose. The fugitives were pursued as far as Pont de Buffiere. Campobasso, who had encamped there, gave quarter to none ; so that they were all put to the sword or drowned. René, who was master of the field of battle, got possession also of all the ammunition and provisions, which proved a very seasonable relief to Nancy, where the misery was extreme. The duke of Lorain, entering the town
after

after the battle, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy ; but instead of displaying their satisfaction by a magnificence, which is more a proof of the pride and ambition of princes, than of the good will of their people ; they erected for him a triumphant arch out of the heads of the horses and dogs they had fed upon during the siege.

Bievres, Contay, and la Vieuville, fell in the battle. Antony and Baldwin, bastards of Burgundy, were made prisoners, with the count de Nassau, de Retel, de Chimay, Olivier de la Marche, Galiot, and a great many others.

Enquiry was made for two days after the duke of Burgundy to no purpose. At last they found his body in a ditch, naked, and surrounded with ice so hard, that they were obliged to dig it out with a pick-ax. Although it was very much disfigured, his physician and secretary knew it by several marks, particularly the scar of a wound he received at the battle of Montlhery. The duke of Lorain ordered the corpse to be brought to Nancy, and went out in mourning to meet the procession, having a beard of gold that hung down to his middle, after the manner of the worthies of old, when they gained a victory. He sprinkled the body with holy water, and taking it by the hand, said ; *Well cousin, your soul is now with God, in your life you brought many calamities and afflictions upon us.* He was buried in a chapel, and continued there till 1550, when his remains were transferred to St. Donatus at Bruges.

Thus died Charles the last duke of Burgundy, whose virtues were wholly of the military kind ; he was ambitious, forward, without counsel or foresight, an enemy to peace, and ever thirsting after blood. His mad projects proved the utter ruin of his house, brought innumerable calamities on his subjects, and drew on himself a deserved end.

Great

Great events presently discover themselves by flying reports, that out-run the swiftest messengers. What was confusedly known of the duke of Burgundy's defeat, raised an anxious curiosity, and made every one inquisitive after the particulars of it, in order to carry them to the king. When this prince was in expectation of any interesting piece of news, he was not able to conceal his impatience; but, as if he could thereby have accelerated events, would often talk of them beforehand, and say; *I will give so much to any man who brings me such and such news.* Commynes and du Bouchage had received each two hundred marks of silver, for having been the first to acquaint him with the duke of Burgundy's defeat at Morat. He was still more impatient to be informed of what was doing before Nancy. Du Lude, who waited all night the arrival of the courier, perceived him first about break of day, he obliged him to deliver the packet, and went immediately with it to the king. There were letters from Tremouille, giving an account of duke Charles's defeat, but without any mention of his death. It was not yet known whether he was killed or made prisoner, or whether he had not escaped into Germany. The king could not dissemble his joy. He sent for some of the principal men of the court and city, read the letters to them, and invited them to dine with him. The conversation ran altogether upon the accounts just received: all present expressed a joy real or feigned; for such of the courtiers as were dissatisfied, saw, with sorrow, that the king would now become more absolute than ever. Commynes gives a lively picture of the company we are speaking of, which is not the less strong and expressive, because simple and unadorned, and gives a juster idea of the spirit of the courtiers, than any thing I could say upon the subject. His words are; *I well remember that myself and others, took par-*

particular notice of their eating; but, to speak the truth (whether for joy or sorrow, I cannot tell) there was not one of them all that half filled his belly, and certainly it could not be modesty or bashfulness before the king; for there was not one amongst them, but had had the honour of dining with his majesty several times before.

Next day all the particulars of the action were known, and duke Charles's death was confirmed by letters from the duke of Lorain. The king dispatched messengers with these accounts to the principal cities of the kingdom, and to the duke of Brittany. Two days after, he learnt the tragical fate of Galeas duke of Milan, who was assassinated in the midst of his guards, as he was going to church*.

The duke of Orleans applied to the king for leave and assistance to assert his claim upon the Milanese, derived from his grand-mother Valentina Viconti; but Lewis was not then at leisure to embark in such an enterprize, having his thoughts wholly taken up with the project of recovering Burgundy. He sent messengers to the principal cities of that duchy, to acquaint them with his design of taking under his protection the person and dominions of Mary, daughter and heiress of duke Charles, and his own relation and god-daughter; to represent his hopes of effecting a marriage between her and the dauphin; and to put them in mind, that Burgundy having been given in appenage to Philip of France, the son of king John, returned of course to the crown, upon default of heirs male†. The king, in the mean time,

* The death of Galeas was the effect of personal resentment, not any conspiracy against the state. The chief of the assassins were two men, whom he had injured in point of honour, by seducing the wife of the one, and debauching the other's sister.

† This principle was not indisputably true; at least the clause of reversion to the crown, upon default of issue male,

time, dispatched the admiral and Commynes, to draw the inhabitants of Abbeville to a submission; but before they could settle matters with the leading men, Torcy Governor of Amiens got the start of them, and took possession of the city, by *Jan. 17.* means of the people, whose favourite he was.

Lewis XI. demanded subsidies from all the cities of the kingdom, to enable him to succeed in his design of re-uniting to the crown the estates of the late duke of Burgundy. He afterwards repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, having first dispatched his emissaries into the several parts of the duchy, to persuade the people to submit voluntarily, and not draw upon themselves all the calamities of a war, which would fall so much the heavier, as they must expect to be treated as rebels; whereas, if they made a ready offer of their obedience to the king, he would confirm and augment their privileges.

Upon the king's approach Ham and S. Quintin declared for him. William Bitche, governor of Peronne, forgetting that he owed all his fortune to duke Charles, opened also the gates of that town. The example of Peronne drew after it Tronquay, Roye, Montdidier, Moreuil. Such places as made any resistance were razed, which intimidating the rest, they did not so much as wait the summons to surrender. Vervins, S. Gobin, Marle, Rue, and Landrecy submitted. John de Chalons, prince of Orange, George de la Tremouille lord of Craon, and Charles d'Amboise sieur de Chamont, coming
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male, is not stipulated in the letter of appenage, granted by king John to Philip the bold duke of Burgundy. Charles V. was the first who inserted that clause in his grants; and it has been ever since held as a part of the constitution of the realm. Lewis XI. could not therefore apply it in the case of Burgundy, so far at least, as to make it the foundation of a claim of reversion.

to Dijon at the head of seven hundred lances, addressed the assembly of the states, and summoned them to yield obedience to the king. As they seemed to be still in doubt about the report of Charles's death, they insisted upon a promise from the king to evacuate the province, if it should appear that the duke was still alive *; to maintain the treaties already established, and to grant a general amnesty to all who had ever been in the service of the duke, or might be still attached to the princess his daughter. The commissioners readily granted all

the demands of the states; and the king
Jan. 19. put his seal to the pardon, promising at the same time, that they should still continue possessed of their privileges, pensions, and offices.

Mary exhorted the states to continue firm in their allegiance, signifying to them by letters, that the duchy of Burgundy was not held of the crown of France; that duke Philip, her great grand-father, had bought the county of Charolois of the count d'Armagnac; and that the counties of Macon and Auxerre had been yielded by the treaty of Arras to duke Philip the Good, her grand-father, for him and his heirs male and female. But these letters did not hinder the states from swearing obedience to
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* The people for a long time did not believe the death of duke Charles. Some said he had retired to pass the remainder of his life in solitude, others that he was gone to Jerusalem. Nay, so strongly were some possessed with these notions, that they lent money upon condition of its being repaid at the prince's return. We meet with many examples of these popular prejudices in regard to the fate of illustrious men. One would be apt to think that the people believed them immortal; nor indeed ought we to be surprized at their backwardness to credit the report of duke Charles's death, when they even doubted that of the maid of Orleans, though they had themselves seen her burnt alive.

the king. The council, which they had already established under the name of the provincial council, drew up a memorial containing the humble requests of the province to the king. The first articles related to the coining of money, the administration of justice, and the levying and paying of the military. By other articles they besought the king to reimburse the province the sum of an hundred thousand livres lent the late duke; to abolish the greater part of the imposts and publick duties; to prohibit the sending of money to Rome, and to continue their posts and pensions to those who were already in possession. No sooner had the king returned a favourable answer to these demands, than many hastened with emulation to take the oaths required, that they might have the better pretence to favour; others delayed out of policy, that they might sell themselves to more advantage. It is not known what demands la Tremouille and Chamont made, who were the prime managers in this affair; but the king's answer to them well deserves a place here; as we thereby plainly see that nothing escaped his notice.

My lords, I received your letter, and thank you for the honour you do me in offering to make me a sharer of the spoil. I consent to your keeping one half of the money you mention; but I expect that the overplus be reserved for me, and employed in repairing the fortifications of the frontier towns on the side of Germany, and providing them with all necessaries, in such manner, that I may be no loser. If there is any thing else that can do you no service, pray send it me. As to the wines in the duke of Burgundy's cellars, I am contented to yield them all up in your favour.— At Peronne, Feb. the 9th.

The king's negotiations succeeded in Burgundy; but they took not the same favourable turn in Flanders and Artois. The admiral and Commynes could obtain nothing from the magistrates of Arras. Ravestein, who commanded in that town, conti-

nued firm in his duty. La Vaquerie, the pensionary, made it appear, that Mary's right to the place was incontestible. But Crevecoeur, Lord de Querdes, succeeding Ravestein, had very different views. As his estate lay on this side the Somme, in the neighbourhood of Amiens, he preferred his own private interest to that of his sovereign; and la Vaquerie, gained over by the king's officers, changed his opinion with regard to Mary's rights, or at least did not any more engage in defending them.

While these negotiations were thus carrying on, the chancellor Hugonet, Imbercourt, Ferry de Cluny nominated to the bishoprick of Terouane, the count de Grandpré, and la Grutuse, came in the name of the young duchefs to wait upon the king, and acquaint him, that she had taken the government into her own hands, and formed a council, consisting of the duchefs dowager, Ravestein, the chancellor, and Imbercourt. The king let them know, that it was his intention to conclude a marriage between the Dauphin and Mary of Burgundy, and in the mean time to take possession of those provinces, that by the late duke's death returned to the crown; he told them further, that he meant to keep the rest in his hand till such time as Mary was of age, and did him homage for them. He added, that this marriage was the only way of putting an end to the wars that had now subsisted so long, and which without some expedient of this nature, would be ever and anon breaking out afresh: He had a great respect, it was true, for the princess; but every thing must yield to the obligations he was under, of supporting the rights of his crown and kingdom; and if any one should pretend to dispute them with him, he was not without strength sufficient to maintain them against all invaders.

Hugonet and Imbercourt finding the king at the head of a powerful army, that all the towns he approached

approached opened their gates to him, that the authority of the princeſs was not yet well eſtabliſhed, and that the provinces inſiſted upon a reſtoration of the privileges of which they had been diveſted by the late dukes, reſolved to yield to the neceſſity of their preſent ſituation. They allowed the marriage of the dauphin and Mary to be a way of reconciliation the moſt likely to prove advantageous to both parties, promiſed to do their utmoſt to bring it about, and agreed that des Querdes ſhould govern Arras, as one who derived his authority from the king. This private treaty further imported, *that the ſtates of Artois ſhould ſend deputies to take an oath to the king; that his majeſty ſhould have the power of nominating officers, as well to the military charge of the province, as to the adminiſtration of juſtice, till ſuch time as Mary of Burgundy had performed her homage. It was further added, that in caſe Mary reſuſed to do homage, or married without the conſent of the king, Artois ſhould remain with his majeſty, who engaged to protect and defend the country, and continue to it all its immunities and privileges. The troops were to be withdrawn, as ſoon as the ſtates had taken the oath to the king, and the principal officers were to remain poſſeſſed of their poſts and penſions.*

If we except the clauſe obliging Mary not to marry but with the approbation of the king, the capitulation in every other reſpect was agreeable to reaſon and juſtice; Artois had ever been held as a ſief of the crown; it was only by the treaty of Arras, that Philip the Good was exempted from the accuſtomed homage; this exemption was but for a time, and the time was now expired.

But notwithstanding this private agreement, the king had many difficulties to overcome before he got full poſſeſſion of Arras, *Mar. 4.* which was at that time divided into the town and the city. Des Querdes delivered up the

city, but the burghers were still in possession of the town, which was defended by fortifications, whereas the city had none. There subsisted besides between them, one of those animosities, which though without any real foundation, has notwithstanding often a great influence upon the most serious transactions. The city having received the king, this appeared to the town a sufficient reason for rejecting him, inasmuch that he was obliged to fortify himself in his own quarters, to throw up a bulwark against the town, and begin a siege in form.

Mean time the ambassadors of the prince of Burgundy returned. If they were chargeable with having rather exceeded their instructions in the affair of Arras, Mary was guilty of a yet greater oversight, in assembling the states of Flanders and Ghent. This tumultuous body of men immediately seized the government. The people, always apt to run into licentiousness, and incapable of a just liberty, no sooner found themselves in possession of the supreme authority, than they began to exercise it in acts of tyranny, and even to impose laws upon their sovereign.

Touteville and Baradot came in quality of ambassadors from the three estates of Flanders, to desire the king, not to attempt any thing contrary to the treaty of Soleure, and to undertake the protection of the heiress of Burgundy as he was in duty bound. To give the greater weight to their commission, they added, that Mary was resolved to govern according to the advice of the three estates. The king, to avoid giving an answer upon the first article, took hold of what they had said in relation to the estates, and told them that they were misinformed of their mistress's intentions, who he was well assured was far enough from the design of being guided by the council of the provinces, and had already chosen
particular

particular ministers, by whom all their proceedings would be disavowed.

The ambassadors, little accustomed to the management of treaties and negotiations, abandoned the principal articles of their commission, and confined themselves wholly to such as concerned them personally. They told the king, that they were certain of what they said, and even offered to produce their instructions. After some debate, which was wholly contrived to make the deputies lose sight of the essential point of the negotiation, the king produced the letter he had received from Mary's ambassadors. It was written partly by the hand of the duchess dowager, partly by the young princess, and partly by Ravestein. These different hand-writings were employed to give the greater weight to the letter, by which the king was requested to address himself in all affairs to the duchess dowager, Ravestein, Imbercourt, the chancellor Hugonet, and to none else.

The king, whose chief aim was to breed dissensions between the princess and her subjects, suffered the ambassadors to carry away the letter; and they, wholly taken up with thoughts of vengeance, departed with the same eagerness, as if they had succeeded in their commission.

Very probably, Lewis did not foresee all the consequences of this step. However much it might be his interest, to cherish discord in the court of the young princess, yet it was by no means good policy, to sacrifice those who stood best affected to France.

Touteville and Baradot presented themselves in an assembly of the states, and reproached the duchess with the letter she had written. As she did not imagine the king had given it into their hands, she denied the writing of it; whereupon it was publicly produced. The Gentois enraged, arrested Hugonet and Imbercourt. Besides the secret hatred which the people naturally have against men in power,

power, and which never fails to break out when they have an opportunity, Imbercourt and the chancellor had many very considerable enemies. The bishop of Liege reproached them with some outrages committed in his territories; the count de S. Pol, son of the late constable, was willing to be revenged for the death of his father, who had been delivered up by them: and many others fancying they had just ground of complaint against them, did all in their power to animate the people, who were already but too much inflamed. The services these two great men had rendered the state, or which it might be afterwards in their power to render it, were but a weak defence against the torrent of private hatred, and the blind fury of a base populace, who, unless they are slaves, will be tyrants.

Commissioners were appointed to bring them to a trial. The charge was summed up in three articles; that they had been instrumental in the surrendering of Arras; that they had taken a bribe for a judgment lately given in favour of the city of Ghent; and that they had acted many things contrary to the privileges of the said town, during their administration under the late duke. Altho' the accused could have made a good defence to the first article, as having honest intentions, and being compelled to it by the then situation of the young prince's affairs, yet it seemed to have the most formidable aspect. But the Gantois never once insisted upon it, as being probably not displeased to see the duchess weakened by the loss of so considerable a town as Arras. To the second and third articles they answered, that the judgment they had given was according to their conscience; that they had never demanded the money, nor received it till after the sentence, when being offered them, they had accepted it as a gratuity for their trouble. That as for the city privileges, they had themselves consented

to give them up to the late duke. But their defence was not regarded; they were ordered to be put upon the rack, and notwithstanding their appeal to the king in parliament, they were condemned and executed on Maunday-Thursday.

As soon as the princess was made acquainted with this sentence, she came in person to the town-hall to defend the innocence, or intercede for the lives of these her two most faithful servants. But the judges sternly rejecting her suit, ordered her to retire. She ran to the market-place with her hair disheveled, and in her mourning Habit, where she saw her two unhappy servants upon the scaffold, and so disabled by the violence of the rack, that they could neither stand upright, nor kneel to receive the stroke of death. The princess addressed the people in the most suppliant terms. Many present moved at this spectacle, and touched with the innocence of the young princess their sovereign, whom they saw reduced to make these humble condescensions, were for stopping the execution; but the greater number, deaf to compassion, tumultuously demanded the blood of these unfortunate men, and ordered their heads to be struck off in presence of the princess.

The town of Arras demanding to capitulate, the king ordered a charter to be drawn, confirming the ancient privileges both of the town and city, and conferring on the whole body of the inhabitants all the immunities usually granted to the gentry, with exemption from the ban and the arriere-ban. — But when the whole affair was well nigh concluded, the king's presence being wanted elsewhere, after his departure, the party that had opposed him in the town, getting the upperhand, began to renew their hostilities against the city. The garisons of Lille, Douay, and Valenciennes, made up a detachment of five hundred horse and a thousand foot, under the command

mand of d'Arcy and young Salazar, who endeavoured to throw themselves into the place. Du Lude, who commanded in the king's absence, falling out against them, killed six hundred, made almost all the rest prisoners, and pressed the siege of the town more vigorously than ever. The inhabitants finding it would not be possible for them to defend themselves longer, sent deputies to the king at Hesdin, to beg leave that they might go and represent to the dukes Mary the necessity they were under of delivering up the town; the king answered, they were wise, and knew what they had to do. The deputies satisfied with this answer, returned, but they were seized by the way, and brought back to Hesdin. At first the king treated them with great lenity, and when he had thus lulled them into a full security, ordered twelve of the chief of them to be taken and beheaded. The head of Oudard de Buffy, chief of the deputation, was exposed in the market-place of Hesdin, because the king having given him a place in parliament, considered him as a traitor. It would be difficult to excuse his punishing the rest; the answer he had given them was a kind of engagement on his part, or at least an equivocation much beneath a prince.

This execution struck such a terror into the inhabitants of Arras, that they implored the king's clemency. Lewis granted them a general pardon, ordered them to be disarmed, and fined them fifty thousand crowns.

Commines was mistaken in saying, that the capitulation was ill kept, and that several citizens were put to death. He confounds the execution of the deputies with one which he supposes to have been at Arras. Besides, the capitulation was dated the first of April, and the violation was committed by the inhabitants of Arras themselves, upon the king's departing to take possession of Hesdin. They sent to
Douay

Douay for troops, and fired upon the city, infomuch, that du Lude was obliged to undertake a-new the siege of the town, into which the king was not admitted till the fourth of May. Commynes who wrote from his own memory only, and not till long after the facts happened, is very excusable for some slight mistakes of this kind; but I doubt whether he can claim the same indulgence for asserting that the king was averse to the marriage of the dauphin with Mary of Burgundy. As this is a very important fact; as it is a matter of no small concern even in our days, and as the greater part of those who with reason lament that this marriage did not take place, do little more than repeat what Commynes has said, it well deserves a particular discussion.

It is certain that the house of Austria's claim to the succession of Burgundy, has been for several ages the cause of an almost continual war *, the seeds of which are not yet wholly destroyed: But it does not appear that Lewis XI. as is commonly supposed, refused to re-unite this duchy to the crown by the marriage of the dauphin with Mary of Burgundy. Commynes tells us, that he had often heard the king say, it was his intention, should Charles die, to bring about if possible this match; or if Mary could not be brought to consent because of the inequality of their age †, to endeavour to marry her to some prince

* An Emperor of the Turks, astonished at the vast effusion of human blood, occasioned by the wars of the Low-Countries, had them pointed out to him in the map, and upon observing the small extent of these provinces: Were it my business to interfere, says he, I would send my pioneers, and order them to throw that little corner of land into the sea.

† Mary of Burgundy was in her twentieth year at her father's death. She was born on the 13th of February 1457, and the dauphin the 30th of June 1470; so that she was thirteen years older than the prince.

prince of the blood ; he adds, that this was his resolution not a week before he heard of the duke's death, but that as soon as he received the news his mind changed ; for he then resolved to seize upon the greatest part of his dominions, and to divide the rest among his favourites and some of the German princes, in order to engage them in the design, and strengthen himself by their alliance ; nay the very day the news arrived, he promised to several of those that were about him the lands and possessions of that prince. Whoever reads this passage of Commynes, will unavoidably be led to believe, that the king had wholly abandoned his first project. I know too that his authority must be of considerable weight, as he was a man of great penetration, lived in the highest confidence and familiarity with Lewis XI. and of consequence had the best opportunities of knowing his character. For these reasons I shall content myself with mentioning some facts, that seem to contradict what Commynes has advanced, and leave it to the reader to decide upon the question. I am not here attempting to justify Lewis XI. but only to clear up the truth as far as I can.

The king had often proposed to duke Charles a marriage between the dauphin and Mary of Burgundy. After the duke's death, his first care was to get it concluded. To that end he wrote to Craon and the states of Burgundy. Hugonet and Imbercourt renewed the proposal in the negotiation about the surrender of Arras. Upon the first rumours of a match between the princess of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederick III. the king wrote to his agents in such manner, as leaves no room to doubt how much he had this marriage at heart. He ordered Mouy to address the city of Lannoy, and promised ample rewards both to himself and all he should employ in that affair. He adds, *that it ever had been and still*

was

was his desire to accomplish this alliance, and by that means unite all these countries to the crown; that he should esteem the bringing this project to a happy issue the greatest service that could be done him; that endeavours must be used to prevail with the Flemings to undertake the business, and break off the intended match with Maximilian; that he would reward this service not only by continuing to them their ancient privileges, but by granting them new ones, and heaping favours upon them that should even exceed their desires; that if after all these offers the Flemings still persisted in opposing the marriage, they must be warned of the king's intention to take possession of all the provinces that held of the crown, and to leave only what remained to the future husband of Mary.

We see therefore that Lewis XI. employed both offers and menaces to make this affair succeed, which he had infinitely at heart. Tho' duke Charles himself had proposed the marriage of his daughter with the dauphin, yet as his aversion to the king was unsurmountable, that might probably be the reason why it was not accomplished.

Lewis XI's hatred of Charles was no doubt equal to that of which he himself was the object; but it is by no means likely that it extended to the duke's posterity. Besides, it is abundantly evident from Lewis's whole conduct, that he was not of a temper to listen to his resentments where they interfered with his interest, which no prince ever knew better, or pursued more steadily. It is true, he entered the dominions of the young duchess at the head of a powerful army, because he was determined to begin with re-uniting to the crown, such provinces as reverted to it upon the duke's death; and this he foresaw would not be so easy, should he put it off till the duchess had espoused some powerful prince, and an enemy to France. Speculative politicians, instead of examining nicely the king's conduct, pronounce absolutely upon the knowledge they have of
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his character: and suppose that a principle of jealousy with-held him from concluding the marriage, as dreading to render his son too powerful, by making him at once dauphin and duke of Burgundy. Lewis was indeed jealous enough of his authority, to entertain an apprehension of this kind: It is certain however, that he sincerely desired the marriage, but did not perhaps pursue the best measures to accomplish it. Thus, tho' he may be justified in some points, he will be still exposed to reproaches on the side of policy, which however are not those usually charged upon him in the present case. He knew not how to make use of his advantages to determine Mary's consent in favour of the dauphin. She was of herself sufficiently inclined to this alliance, of a mind upright and sincere, and utterly a stranger to that refined and false policy which is ever ready to sacrifice truth to the deluding promises of a vain imagination. She had been witness to all the ravages of a war between the duke her father and the king. She was desirous of preventing a repetition of these calamities, of making her subjects happy, and of forming such an alliance as might secure and perpetuate their tranquillity. These considerations determined her to consent to the marriage with the dauphin, in spite of all the efforts of the enemies of France, and particularly of madam Halleluin, one of her maids of honour, who was continually teasing her upon the score of the dauphin's youth, and saying, that a man, and not a boy, was what she wanted most in her present situation.

Lewis was guilty of an irreparable fault in delivering up to the ambassadors of the states of Ghent the letters that proved so fatal to Hugonet and Imbercourt. From that moment he wholly lost Mary's confidence, nor was it ever after in his power to regain it.

Commenc

Commynes seems to censure Lewis without just grounds, when he says, that he might have effected a marriage between Mary of Burgundy and the count of Angouleme. It was the king's interest to marry her to the dauphin, but that project not succeeding, we can never sure suppose that he would think of matching her with a prince of the blood, and thereby rendering him as powerful as had been the former dukes of Burgundy, John, Philip, and Charles: They had been France's most formidable enemies; and the king wanted only then to recover the provinces which Philip the good had wrested from the crown by the treaty of Arras. It would have doubtless been greatly to the advantage of France, and of all Europe in general, that the Low Countries had been united to the crown. This is but too apparent from what has happened since. But Lewis XI. could not foresee, that in so short a time both his own posterity and that of the duke of Orleans would fail, and the crown come to the son of the count of Angouleme. In his then circumstances, and apprized of what might happen by what he had seen already, it was by no means his interest to promote a marriage between the heiress of Burgundy and a prince of the blood. It is true, the inconveniencies were still greater in suffering that succession to pass to Maximilian; but Lewis XI. had no prospect of succeeding for any other prince of the blood more than the dauphin, after losing Mary's confidence, and incurring the hatred of the Flemings. He committed, on this occasion, blunder upon blunder, inasmuch as after being disappointed in his first project, he did not turn his thoughts to the princess Ann, heiress of Britany. The consequences of this neglect might have proved no less fatal to France than the loss of the Low-Countries, had not the error been repaired in the next reign. The only advantage Lewis drew from
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the present circumstances of affairs, was to foment divisions in the royal family of England, by persuading Edward IV. that the duke of Clarence aspired to the alliance of Mary of Burgundy, and that the duchess dowager promoted his suit. Whether the duke of Clarence really had such a design, or that Edward was glad of an opportunity to be revenged for his siding with the earl of Warwick, he ordered him to be arrested. The duke of Gloucester projecting the destruction of his brothers one after another, to pave himself a way to the throne, was at no small pains to exasperate Edward still more against the duke of Clarence. This unfortunate prince was found guilty, and all the favour he could obtain of his brother was, to chuse the manner of his death. To avoid appearing on a scaffold, he desired to be drowned in a butt of malmsey, which was accordingly executed.

Lewis to secure the English, was very regular in paying the pensions he allowed to the principal men at Edward's court: the alliance with the Switzers did not prove less expensive; they received this year above seventy thousand livres. These extraordinary demands upon the publick, did not however hinder the king from attending to the other wants of the kingdom; he built a bridge over the Charente near Coignac, repaired Montaigu, a frontier town of Poictou and Britany, and fortified Arras. The command of this last place was given to John de Daillon, who for his dexterity in making the services he did his master turn to his own profit, had the nick-name of *Maitre Jean des Habilités*.

The king, when disposed to shake off a little the fatigue of business, generally retired to N. Dame de la Victoire, near Senlis, where he was raising a stately palace. But he seldom enjoyed any long repose. He set out for Cambray, which opened its gates to him upon assurance of having their privi-
leges

leges confirmed. Whilst he continued in that town, he received the news of his troops having surprized Tournay, by the intrigues of Oliver le Dain *. This man having persuaded the king that he could do him very considerable service by the intelligence which he held in Ghent, was commissioned to repair thither. He endeavoured to triumph over the meanness of his original by a haughty carriage, which served only to make him appear more ridiculous in the eyes of his countrymen. Upon his being admitted to audience, he desired, that he might have leave to speak in private with the princess of Burgundy, but was told that it could not be granted. Le Dain, who had neither address nor courage to bring himself off in such a conjuncture, fell into contempt; from contempt they proceeded to menaces, which, putting him in a terrible fright, he fled to Tournay. Here he studied by some service to make amends for his ill success at Ghent. To that end he gained over many of the inhabitants, and sent word to Colard de Mouy, who was at S. Quintin, to advance privately towards Tournay. Mouy sent Navarot d'Anglade before, at the head
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* Oliver the devil, or the bad, a native of the little town of Thielt, near Courtray, was at first barber to Lewis XI. whose confidence he found means to gain. The king changed his name to le Dain, advanced him to the rank of a nobleman, made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, captain of the castle of Loches, governor of S. Quintin, and loaded him with favours. Le Dain's advancement roused the jealousy of the courtiers, his insolence created him many enemies, and his crimes made him at length fall a sacrifice to justice and the publick hatred. He was hanged in the following reign for having abused a woman, under promise of saving her husband's life, whom he afterwards caused to be strangled. Doyac, a man of the same character with le Dain and his accomplice, had his ears cropped. We shall have occasion to speak of him in the sequel.

of five and twenty lances, and followed him so closely, that le Dain and the burghers, who were

in the secret, having opened the barrier,
May 23. he made himself master of the town before the magistrates knew of his arrival.

Le Dain now finding himself strongest, apprehended all whom he thought capable of raising any disturbance, and sent them to Paris, where they remained prisoners till the king's death. D'Anglade, the next day, made an incursion with his five and twenty lances to the very gates of Lannoy. Terror seized the whole country, the Flemings abandoned Mortagne, and the French took possession of it. Mouay having secured Tournay, sallied out with a part of the garison and some pieces of cannon, marched to Leuse belonging to the duke of Nemours, and surprized the castle, which he levelled with the ground. The Flemings, by way of reprisals, burnt the castle of Chin, which appertained to Mouy; but he falling upon them in their retreat, killed a hundred, and took three prisoners, whom he ordered to be hanged. Skirmishes happened daily between the Flemings and the garison of Tournay. Mean while Lewis was besieging Bouchain, where Tanneguy du Chatel was slain by a stroke aimed at the king, near whom he stood. Lewis greatly regretted his loss, and pressed the place so vigorously, that he carried it by assault. Quesnoy held out but two days; Avesne resisted longer.

This place belonged to the Sire d'Albret, who was in the service of the king, but Mingoual commanded in it for the princess Mary, and Paruels and Culembourg had thrown themselves into it with eight hundred men, resolving to defend it to the utmost. The king had recourse to stratagem, and invited these two officers to dine with him, under pretence of a conference. Dammartin taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, gained over
several

several of the inhabitants, and surprized the town. As they had fired upon the herald sent to summon them, the king was resolved to make an example of the place. The inhabitants were all put to the sword, the houses pillaged, the walls razed, and the ditches filled up. The garisons of Douay, S. Omer, and Aire, on the side of Mary; those of Arras, Terrouenne and Bethune for the king, were making daily incursions upon each other, pillaged and burnt the castles, carried off the cattle, and committed all the outrages of a cruel war. Des Querdes and du Lude marched against S. Omer, and at the first assault, carried one of the bulwarks. But the inhabitants quickly raised another, and repaired the works faster than the artillery destroyed them. Lewis, provoked at this obstinate resistance, sent word to the governor, whose name was Philip, the son of Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, that if he did not deliver up the place, he would put his father, then a prisoner in the camp, to death before his eyes. Philip reply'd, that the loss of his father would be a cruel affliction to him, but that his duty was still dearer, and he thought he knew the king too well to fear his dishonouring himself by such an act of barbarity.

If all the sieges did not prove successful, the country was not thereby less exposed to ravages; a war carried on with equal advantages is only the more bloody. Cassel was burnt; Dammartin had orders to extend his foragers in such manner as entirely to ruin the country. *Let your depredations be so effectual,* said the king to him in his letter, *as to leave no occasion for returning; remember that you are an officer of the crown as well as I, and that if I am king, you are grand-master.* Lewis XI. thought, that such as were in highest stations in the state, were the most bound to serve it; and for this reason, though he was no way displeased with an officer, he would, notwithstanding,

doubts; he ratified and swore to the treaty of Senlis, and converted it into a league offensive and defensive. By a private treaty he was released from the obligation of serving in person, or furnishing succours, when the king was engaged in any foreign war. It deserves to be remarked of these two princes, that they consented to swear the treaty upon whatever relics the one should propose to the other, excepting the body of Jesus Christ, and the cross of S. Lo. What an assemblage of superstition, and scandalous prevarication! But notwithstanding the reserve of this article, the duke swore the treaty upon both; two Canons of Angers being appointed to carry the cross of S. Lo to Nantes for that purpose. Du Bouchage also went thither, with the prothonotary John de Montaigu, and John Chambon master of requests, to be present at his taking the oath. The king, more desirous than ever to preserve his allies, sent John Rapin his master of the household, and Brizé one of his gentlemen of the horse, to renew all former alliances with the duke of Lorain. He likewise renewed with the Venetians, that amity and good understanding which their attachment to the house of Burgundy had very much altered; and desirous of making one effort more, to break off the marriage between the princess of Burgundy and Maximilian, he sent Robert Gaguin, general of the Order of Trinitarians, into Germany, with powers to assume the character of ambassador, if he found any probability of succeeding in the negotiation. He had orders to represent to the electors the alliances that had ever subsisted between the empire and the kings of France; and to tell them, that the heiress of Burgundy being of the blood of France, and a subject of the king, the laws of the realm permitted her not to marry without consent of her sovereign, and the chief of her house.

Gaguin

Gaguin went to Cologn where he understood that Maximilian was to stop. He presented his credentials to the duke of Juliers, who made answer, that he had already passed his word to Maximilian, and therefore could not go back with honour. Gaguin concluded from the duke of Juliers reply, that it would be in vain to present his credentials to the other princes; so left Cologn the same day with Maximilian.

The Flemings were obliged to be at the expence of their new prince's journey, who was as poor as the emperor his father was covetous. Maximilian made his entrance into Ghent, followed by the electors of Treves and Mentz, the marquisses of Brandenburg and Baden, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the greatest part of the princes of the empire. The day after he *Aug. 18.* was married to the duchess of Burgundy.

During these preparations for the nuptials of Mary and Maximilian, Flanders was the theatre of a most cruel and bloody war, Orchies, Fresne, S. Saviour, Marchiennes, Harbec, and St. Amand were reduced to ashes.

As the king suspected, that the submission of the Burgundians would not prove so firm as it had been speedy, he took care to set over that province, men whose fidelity he could rely on. Craon had been appointed governor of it, with power to assemble the states, to command the attendance of the nobility, to convoke the ban and arriere-ban of the provinces of Dauphiné, Lyonnois, Fores, Beaujolois and Champagne; and to punish or pardon, as he should find it most for his master's interest. Philip de Hothberg, at that time the eldest of the house of Baden, was made marshal of Burgundy; Philip Pot was appointed president of the parliament instituted by letters of the 18th of March, and which was to consist of the most considerable men of the province.

John de Damas was continued in the government of Macon, and six gentlemen were appointed to serve under him. All appeared quiet in the province of Burgundy when John de Chalon prince of Orange revolted to the party of the dukes with the same precipitation as he had before quitted it. He had flattered himself with the hopes of being put in possession of Franche-Comté, and that the king would content himself with the bare sovereignty of that province. Lewis was not fond of having his subjects too powerful: Finding the prince of Orange already very considerable by his great possessions, he thought it sufficient to appoint him lieutenant-general of it under Craon. The prince of Orange could not brook subjection to a man whom he looked upon as much his inferior. He therefore united with John of Cleves, resolving to drive the French out of the Comté. Many of the gentlemen of the country were still warmly attached to the princess Mary, some openly, others waited only an opportunity to declare themselves.

The two brothers Claudius and William de Vaudrey, gave the signal of revolt, got together some troops, joined the prince of Orange, and to inspire confidence into their party by some success, seized Vesoul, Rochfort and Auxonne.

Craon, desirous to stifle the revolt in its birth, endeavoured to recover Vesoul, but he was unhappily surprized in an ambuscade. Vaudrey made choice of a very dark night, sallied out with all the trumpets of the garison, dispersed them in several places, and ordered the charge to be sounded on all sides. Craon imagining he was surrounded, thought of nothing but how to make his escape. Vaudrey, attentive to all his motions, fell suddenly upon the French, whose retreat now became a general rout. A great number of them were slain upon the spot; the rest were either massacred by the peasants in their flight,

flight, or drowned in the Saone. Craon escaped to Grey. The king was so exasperated by this loss, that he wrote to Craon to endeavour to get the prince of Orange into his hands, and cause him to be either hanged or burnt. He was proceeded against as a traitor, and hanged in effigy in all the towns of Burgundy.

Mean while the king ordered some troops to advance against the Comtois, who had entered Burgundy. The Switzers, not caring to have the French for their neighbours, suffered all to pass quietly that were inclined to join the rebels. Tho' the king caused their pensions to be regularly paid, and they had signed at Lucern the 25th of April, a treaty by which they stood engaged not to obstruct the king in any manner in prosecuting his claim to the Franche-comté, they, notwithstanding signed another at Zurich with the dukes of Burgundy. The canton of Lucern avoided being concerned in it, and was very forward in renewing to the king protestations of the most inviolable attachment, assuring him that the proceedings of the assembly at Zurich, were not, in any respect, contrary to the alliances sworn with France; nay, that a proclamation had been published through all the cantons, forbidding the subjects of the republick, under pain of confiscation of body and goods, to carry arms against the king.

Notwithstanding all these assurances of fidelity, the proclamation was but ill observed. A great number of Switzers were in the prince of Orange's pay, who, little regarding the imaginary penalties pronounced against him by the king, had driven the French out of Franche-comté. There now only remained to them in that province the town of Grey, which Hugo de Chalons, surnamed Chateau-Guyon, resolved to besiege. He was already on his way with a body of cavalry, and expected the

infantry to join him. Craon gave him not time to draw his troops together, but marched out to attack him. The charge was vigorous, and the victory warmly disputed, but, at length, Chateau-Guyon was defeated, lost twelve hundred of his men, and remained himself a prisoner.

Marigni intending to revenge the defeat of Chateau-Guyon, entered Charolois, burnt the suburbs of S. Gengou, and made himself master of a few small towns. This slight success roused the party of the dukes in Dijon. One named Chretiennot took up arms for her, and was upon the point of rendering himself master of the town. The sedition of the metropolis soon communicated itself to the other cities of the province. The magistrates of Chalons were beginning to treat with Toulangeon, who was at their gates, when Damas, governor of Maconnois hastening thither, prevented the intended defection.

Craon having thus, by good fortune, recovered the towns he had lost in Charolois, re-entered Franche-comté, surprized a party of the garison of Dole in an ambuscade, and slew eight hundred of them. This success determined him to form the siege of that place. It was defended by a body of Switzers, in open violation of treaties, and the solemn declarations they had so lately made. Montbailon was governor of the town, and the garison was commanded by a burgher of Bern. Craon battered the place continually for eight days together, and without examining whether the breach was large enough, ordered two assaults to be given, in which the French were repulsed, with the loss of above a thousand men. A report prevailing at the same time, that the Switzers were on their march to relieve the place, the besiegers were seized with terror. Craon decamped so hastily, that he left all his cannon behind him; whereupon the two brothers

thers taking advantage of the disorder of the French, fell upon them in their retreat, and entirely routed them.

The consternation was general. The enemy marched immediately to Grey. The town was strongly fortified, and defended by Salazar a brave and experienced officer. They would have found it no easy task to get possession of the place, had not treachery come in for a share in the attempt. The Vaudreys gained over the inhabitants, and were favoured in their approach by a loud wind that drowned the noise of their march. Sixty of the boldest of the troops, scaled the walls in different places, and seizing one of the gates, opened it to the rest. In a moment the streets were filled with enemies. The fight was maintained in the dark. The French finding themselves attacked both by the soldiers and townsmen, to be revenged of the treachery of the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and broke thorough the flames. Salazar retired into the castle with a hundred men. Such of the French as endeavoured to make their escape by flight, fell in with the enemy's cavalry, and were almost all cut to pieces.

This misfortune, though great, might have been attended with still more fatal consequences, and drawn after it the loss of all that the king possessed in Burgundy, had not Maximilian, that he might be at leisure to strengthen himself in his new dominions, made overtures of peace. He proposed to the king to terminate all their *Aug. 27.* differences by a treaty. Lewis replied that he had taken up arms only in defence of his own rights; that the princess Mary with-held several provinces belonging to the crown; that she was in possession of others, for which she was bound to do homage, and that he was ready to agree to a peace, provided it was such a one as did not interfere with the rights of his crown.

The king, to manifest the sincerity of his intentions, nominated the chancellor Doriole, Philip Pot lord de la Roche, Crevecoeur, Bitche, and Boutillac, who repaired to Lens, and concluded

Sept. 8. a truce with Maximilian's commissioners, without however determining the precise length of time, as supposing that a peace would very soon follow. It appeared that neither Burgundy nor Franche-comté were comprehended in the truce, which left the king at liberty to turn all his forces on that side.

Lewis still more dissatisfied with the conduct of the lord de Craon than his ill success, deprived him of his government, and banished him the court. He was accused of paying a greater regard to his own interest than the concerns of his master. Avarice was his predominant passion, and it is well known into what dishonourable steps that principle will often lead a man. He retired to his country-seat, possessed of such enormous wealth, as was but too glaring a proof of his guilt. The king gave the government of Burgundy to Charles de Char-mont d'Amboise, equally respected for his probity, his disinterestedness, and his valour. Lewis wrote to the estates of Burgundy, to assure them, that he would never suffer that province to be again separated from the crown, professing at the same time so great a confidence in their fidelity, that he told them he intended to recall the Franc-archers.

These armaments, and the expence the king was obliged to be at to continue the war, or maintain peace, if his negotiations for that end succeeded, hindered his furnishing the succours which he had promised to Alphonso king of Portugal, who was still in France. Lewis took care that he should be treated with the greatest respect, but, at the same time, gave him to understand, that he was in no condition to keep his word with him, nay, that the necessity

necessity of his affairs even obliged him to acknowledge Ferdinand and Isabella for king and queen of Castile. Alphonso, who was a witness of the king's situation, admitted his excuses, yielded to necessity, and resolved to turn monk. He imparted his design to his son, urged him to take possession of the kingdom, retired, and concealed himself with so much care, that it was generally believed he had crossed the sea, and was gone for Jerusalem; a kind of devotion that still continued fashionable even in those days. He was afterwards discovered in a village near Honfleur, and given to know from the king, that there was a necessity for his leaving the kingdom. A tax was levied in Normandy to defray the expence of his voyage; and Antony de Foudras, master of the king's household, was appointed to take charge of the embarkation.

The king's resolution of acknowledging Ferdinand and Isabella, was owing to the intelligence he received from the protonotary Lucena, and John Lopez de Valdo Maffo his pensioners in Castile, that Mary and Maximilian were treating with Ferdinand, who had consented to abandon the alliance of France, provided he might have equally advantageous conditions from them. He knew further, that Ferdinand intended a match between the prince of Wales and his daughter Isabella princess of Asturias, though she had been already promised to the prince of Capua, son of Ferdinand king of Naples. All that was required of Edward was, to furnish the king of Castile with succours against France and Portugal. But the king's address broke all the measures of his enemies. Besides, after the duke of Burgundy's death, there was no prince but dreaded to be at variance with him. His arms made him formidable abroad; the examples he had made of the constable de St. Pol and some others, kept his subjects in awe; and the execution of the duke of Nemours which,

happened this year, gave the finishing stroke to the establishing of his authority, and effectually stifled all spirit of revolt.

James d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, was the son of Bernard d'Armagnac count de la Marche, who had been governor to Lewis XI. This prince out of a respect for the father, had loaded the son with favours. He had granted him in marriage his cousin the daughter of the count du Maine; entrusted him with the command of armies, and honoured him with the title of duke and peer; a dignity so much the more considerable, as it had hitherto been granted to none but princes of the blood, and even very sparingly to them. The duke of Nemours repayed the king with the blackest ingratitude. He was one of the first to declare himself in the war of the publick good. I find in a manuscript chronicle, that he proposed to du Lau to kill the king. He leagued with the count d'Armagnac, and joined the party of the duke of Guyenne: the constable's accusers, and the constable himself charged Nemours. He was ever engaged in designs that stood in need of a pardon, and the least of all men deserved it. After having obtained it several times, he was obliged to purchase it once more by renouncing the privileges of duke and peer. He was afterwards accused of having engagements in England, and with other enemies of the state, and of forming a design to imprison the king, kill the dauphin, and divide the kingdom.—The king, weary of exercising his clemency to no purpose, ordered the duke of Nemours to be arrested at Carlat. The duchess, who then lay in, was so alarmed at the news, that she died immediately upon it. Nemours was conducted to the Bastile, and shut up in a cage. The count de Beaujeu, the chancellor, Boufile-le-Juge governor of Roussillon, Montaigu, and several presidents and counsellors in parliament, were nominated

minated to prepare the indictment. When the articles against him were drawn up, the king ordered them to be read before him, and wrote to the principal cities of the kingdom to send deputies to assist at the trial. Being informed that the duke of Nemours had been suffered to come out of his cage when he was interrogated, he blamed the indulgence of the judges, ordered the prisoner to be interrogated in his cage, commanded him to be put upon the rack, and prescribed himself the form of his examination.

Nemours no longer doubting that his ruin was resolved on, had recourse to submissions. He implored the king's clemency, and begged that his children might not be dishonoured by the infamous punishment of their father. Lewis XI. was inflexible when he had once set his heart upon vengeance; the duke of Nemours was condemned to lose his head, and was accordingly executed before the town-hall*. Never was execution performed with greater solemnity. Nemours was conducted to the place of punishment upon a horse covered with black, the chamber where he confessed himself was hung with black; a new scaffold was erected, tho' there was one always standing in the place; and the criminal's children were placed under him, that their father's blood might run down upon them. The confiscated estates of the duke of Nemours were divided among his judges and the king's favourites, as Peter de Bourbon, Bouffle-le-Juge, Lenoncourt, Commynes, and some others. The king at the same time gave to du Lude the confiscated lands that had belonged to the prince of Orange. The principality itself was re-united to Dauphiné, and Ancefuné appointed governor

* Condemned the 10th of July, executed the 4th of August.

governor of it. Lewis XI. hoping to ward off conspiracies, by raising distrust among those concerned in them, published an edict, importing, that all who had any knowledge of designs against the king, queen, or dauphin, and did not immediately discover them, should be reputed accomplices, and punished as such. This edict was afterwards made use of to condemn M. de Thou, tho' then almost universally forgotten, nay, unknown to the greatest part of the judges themselves, and only revived to gratify the hatred of a minister.

Lewis in the beginning of this year, 1478. treated with Bernard de la Tour about

Easter, his claim to the county of Bologn.

Mar. 28. Philip duke of Burgundy had seized it in

Jan. 3. 1419. Lewis having recovered it last

campaign, might have kept it by right of conquest. The house of la Tour had never been actually possessed of it; but as Bernard was by the mother's side descended from the ancient counts of Auvergne, and had therefore some claims upon the county in question; the king gave him in exchange that of Lauraquais of equal value. Some months after he did homage for it to the holy virgin in the church of Boulogn-surmer, made an offering of a golden heart weighing thirteen Marcs, and ordained by letters patents dated in April at Hesdin, that his successors should do the same homage, accompanying it with a like offering.

Maximilian who by his marriage was now become the natural enemy of France, might have proved no less formidable than the late duke Charles, had he been supported by the English. But the money which Lewis distributed very liberally among them, made them pay little or no regard to the solicitations of an indigent prince. Edward, led by gratitude, or rather his interest, and hoping to draw new contributions from the same quarter, sent

Howard

Howard and Tonstal with Dr. Langton to the court of France. They were impowered to concert the late truce, which was to continue for a year after the death of the two kings, into a treaty of peace.

The king, desirous to draw from the ambassadors the secret of their instructions, employed Boufile-le-Juge to sift them on that head. Historians henceforward stile him the count de Castres, the king having bestowed that county upon him, which was a part of the confiscated estate of the duke of Nemours. The count de Castres managed Dr. Langton with so much art, that he soon discovered that Edward had nothing so much at heart as the marriage of the princess Elizabeth his daughter with the dauphin; that Hastings, Edward's favourite, was wholly in the interest of France; but that several of the nobility murmured at the king's deferring so long the payment of Margaret's ransom.

Lewis immediately ordered ten thousand crowns to be paid down on the score of the ransom. Edward, who was often in want of money, more on account of his expensive Pleasures, than the exigencies of the state, received this supply so seasonably, and the gratitude of princes on these occasions is generally so warm, that he wrote to his ambassadors to finish the peace. Lewis having nothing to fear from the English, turned his thoughts towards the Liegeois and the German princes, whom he endeavoured to gain over to his side against Maximilian. The Liegeois had not yet forgotten their late calamities; they represented the ruined state of their country, and their towns incapable of defence; that their lands were held of the emperor, Maximilian's father; that they had been already summoned to furnish supplies to that prince, and if they dared to declare against him, must expect to be put under the ban of the empire; that the only favour
they;

they could hope for, was the being allowed to observe a neutrality, by which they might perhaps in time recover their losses, and find themselves in a capacity of serving France. The king was not satisfied with this answer, and altho' he had scarce any pretence for demanding aid of the Liegeois, after having abandoned them so shamefully in their misfortunes, he ordered them to be told, that there had always been a strict alliance between the states of Liege and the kings of France; whereas the three last dukes of Burgundy had been the ravagers and destroyers of their country; that therefore they ought not to stand neuter in the present quarrel; that there was an absolute necessity for their declaring themselves, and that one of the two they must chuse, either his protection or his resentment.

Mean while the king treated with the count de Montbelliard, who agreed to receive the French into his estates, in consideration of six thousand livres. The duke of Wirtemberg gave it also under his hand, to declare for France. Duke Sigismund of Austria, to whom the king allowed a pension, wanted, if possible, to preserve it without declaring against Maximilian, and to that end offered himself as a mediator between the two princes; *but before I go any farther with him, said the king, I must know whether he will be my friend.*

The emperor Frederic wrote about *Feb. 6.* the same time a letter to the king, in which he complained of his seizing upon Cambray, and substituting there the Flower-de-Luce in room of the Imperial Eagle: that he had entered Franche-comté, in a hostile manner, and turned his arms against some towns that were held of the Empire; which he could not but look upon as a violation of the alliance that had so long subsisted between the kings of France and the emperors of Germany: that as for him and the duke Maxi-
milian.

milian his son, they desired nothing so much as peace; but that if this could not be obtained, he took God and men to witness that he was compelled to enter upon a war, being resolved to defend to the utmost of his power the rights of his son, his own, and those of the empire.

The king wrote back to the emperor, that he thought it injurious to reproach him with having violated ancient alliances, and still more to declare war against him after all the services which the emperors had received of the kings of France: that it became an emperor rather to cherish and maintain peace among Christian princes, and to unite with them against Infidels.

These letters on both sides were no more than a vain parade of frivolous expostulations, which no way tended to adjust the interests in question, and produced no good effect. The emperor, without coming to an open rupture with France, furnished Maximilian with troops; and the king, secure of the English and Switzers, prepared to defend his rights, and perhaps to regulate them by his success.

Lewis, who never made war but when constrained to it, readily complied with the offers of those who courted his alliance. He entered into a treaty with Philip of Savoy, and granted him considerable pensions upon his agreeing to sign the articles of the edict published the December before, ordaining that all who had any knowledge of plots or conspiracies should give immediate notice of them to the king. Philip swore to serve the king against all his enemies, and Maximilian by name, the house of Savoy being alone excepted.

Lewis at the same time gave to Antony, bastard of Burgundy, the county of Ostrevant, the châtelleny of Bapaume, and the city of Bouchain. Presents so considerable, tho' granted out of the new conquests, roused the zeal of the parliament, who,

at the solicitation of some that were about the king, renewed the opposition they had before made in 1470 to such like alienations, protesting against all the king should do contrary to the tenor of that opposition.

In reality these excessive liberalities could not be supported but to the hurt and prejudice of the people, inasmuch as they obliged the king to borrow of his subjects, or impose taxes upon them. Yet must it be owned at the same time, that if we except his offerings in point of devotion, which were beyond measure burdensome and extravagant, all his other expences had the publick good in view, and especially the preservation of his subjects; which made Molinet, duke Maximilian's historian say, that Lewis had rather lose ten thousand crowns, than risk the life of an archer.

The king, who was desirous that all his enterprizes might appear founded on some just claim, easily perceived that he could not with any face of reason stretch that of the reversion, in respect of several provinces, so far as he desired. This put him upon the design of attacking the memory of the late duke Charles, and prosecuting him for the crime of rebellion and felony. At the intended process regarded the peerdoms of Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, the king, that he might set out at first with at least some appearance of justice and moderation, offered to the duke and duchess of Austria, to refer the matter to the judgment of the peers, who were the natural judges of the present cause. He adduced as examples the process between king Philip the Hardy, and Charles king of the Two Sicilies, about the succession of Alphonso count of Poitiers; that between Charles the Fair and Eudeduke of Burgundy, in relation to the appenage of Philip the Long, which Eude pretended was his inheritance in right
of

of his wife that king's daughter; and lastly between Charles V. and Philip duke of Orleans.

The king proposed to the duke and dukes, that they should be present in person at the assembly, or send some thither in their name, to defend their rights. The Pope, the king of the Romans, and the Electors of the Empire were invited to send deputies to it, provided the affair was decided in France, because the laws of the realm did not allow of its being tried elsewhere.

These offers being rejected, as it was natural to foresee they must, a criminal process was begun against the memory of the late duke Charles. The articles of the charge *May 11.* traced things a great way back. They recounted all that had passed under the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII; the murder of the duke of Orleans, the introduction of the English into France, the alliances of the dukes of Burgundy with them, the proscription of the Dauphin, the devastations, massacres, and all the horrors to which the kingdom had been exposed. Next were mentioned the war of the publick good, and the treaties of Conflans and Peronne. This last was in a particular manner insisted on, and represented as the effect of constraint and perfidy, great pains being taken to show that the duke had violated his promise. A detail likewise was given of all that passed at Peronne, with a copy of the safe-conduct sent to the king by duke Charles. It may be proper to observe, that the original itself, as it has been since found, differs greatly from the letter inserted in the verbal process. I shall here give a faithful transcript of it.

SIR,

I Beg leave to offer my most humble respects to you, and likewise to thank you for sending the cardinal (Balue)
who

who has told me of your desire of having an interview with me ; which I esteem a great honour, and return my warmest acknowledgments for. I have signified to him my intentions in regard to that and other matters, which you may, if you think proper, inform yourself about. I give you full assurance of an entire liberty both of coming and returning ; and humbly request, that you will be pleased to receive my messages-by the cardinal in the same friendly manner as they were delivered, for which I refer you to himself. Pray Heaven your life may be long and happy. Written by the hand of your most humble and most obedient subject,

CHARLES.

The letter inserted in the verbal process, is different from that given above, and expresses the safe-conduct in terms much more strong and obligatory. *I swear and promise, says the duke, upon my faith and honour, that you may come, abide and return in full security, and at your pleasure ; which liberty is here given without restriction or reserve, and to assure you that no pretences shall be used to detain either yourself or any belonging to you, let what will happen. In witness whereof I have writ and signed this with my own hand. Peronne, the 8th of October, 1468. Your most humble and obedient subject,*

CHARLES.

Antony and Baldwin bastards of Burgundy, Antony and Philip de Crevecœur, Bitche and Fere de Cluny attested, that this last letter was written with the duke of Burgundy's own hand. Bitche added, that he had seen him write it, and that he was himself the person who delivered it to the messenger. We must therefore suppose, either that the duke wrote two letters upon the same subject, which is by no means probable ; or, that the letter he sent was not conformable to his own minute of it ; or, that

that this inserted in the verbal process was forged. A suit prosecuted with so much animosity and passion, as this now under consideration, affords but too just grounds to suspect the papers made use of on that occasion.

Although duke Charles had some ground of complaint against the king, it is nevertheless certain, that he may be truly charged with a violation of the law of nations at Peronne. Among the crimes wherewith he was reproached, the greatest stress was laid upon such as tended to render his memory odious. He was charged with having been an accomplice of Ithier, of Hardy, of the Constable, and of the duke of Nemours. The duke of Burgundy had indeed been partly embarked in several of these plots; which gave some colour of probability to the fictitious crimes charged upon him. Some of the articles, however, were so extravagant and unreasonable, that they could only serve to weaken the force of those which had a just foundation. Thus it was made criminal in the duchess to have written letters to the states of Burgundy, after her father's death, and to have sought the alliance of the Switzers; as if it was not allowable in a sovereign princess to make such treaties as she should find most for her interest.

During the prosecution of this suit, the king was upon the frontiers endeavouring to gain over the governors of some of the towns. But that he might not confine himself wholly to the way of negotiation, he ordered Condé to be invested. This town covered Valenciennes, and he earnestly desired to make himself master of it, as it would secure his conquests in Hainault. Mingoual defended the place with three hundred men, all good troops. The king invested it, and charged Mouy to cut off the communication with Valenciennes, an useless precaution, because the hatred subsisting between Mingoual and
Gallot

Galiot governor of Valenciennes, was a sufficient security against their mutually aiding each other. The people are but too often the victims of these low personal quarrels. The town was soon obliged to capitulate. Several Germans went over to the king's side, but nothing could shake the fidelity of Minguoul, who immediately upon the surrender of the place withdrew to Maximilian. The king continued the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their privileges, ordered the town to be repaired, put a garrison into it, and left it the same day.

The castles of Trelon and Boffu surrendered upon the first summons. A general consternation ran through the country, and the king might have pushed his conquests a great way, had not Maximilian speedily assembled his army. Detachments were then sent out on both sides to make incursions; the advantages were pretty near equal, which served only to heighten the calamities of the country. Boffu and Trelon were retaken. The French abandoned and burnt Chateau-de-Ville. The king suspecting that Maximilian had a design upon Condé, ordered Mouy to assemble all the inhabitants in the principal church, under pretence of offering thanks to God for a victory just obtained. Mean while the soldiers pillaged the city, loaded some boats with the most valuable part of the booty, and burnt the rest. The garrison of Montagne acted the same treacherous part in that city.

Galiot sallied out of Valenciennes with eight thousand men, and made an incursion as far as the gates of Quesnoy. Dammartin provoked at this bravado, fell upon the enemy, and drove them back till he was even within sight of Maximilian. The prince astonished at an action so full of boldness, sent the count de Chimay to the king, with proposals of peace. Lewis, who depended still more upon negotiation than arms, received Chimay very favourably.

Besides,

Besides, he began to entertain some suspicion of the Venetians, on account of the peace they had lately concluded with Sigismund duke of Austria. The Switzers too seemed to be jealous of the king's conquests; and the duchess dowager of Burgundy was incessantly soliciting her brother Edward IV. to declare against France. Edward had no intention to comply, but he artfully made use of the present conjuncture to draw continual supplies of money from the king.

All these circumstances made Lewis extremely desirous of peace. The inhabitants of Cambray, after the king's admission into that place, were so well satisfied with their treatment, and the manner in which the king governed them, that of their own accord they passed an act, in which they acknowledged their having been formerly a part of the realm of France; that they were then treated with justice and clemency; that ever since their separation from it, they had been exposed to all manner of oppression and violence, without receiving the least redress from the emperors; and that for these reasons they might again put themselves under the jurisdiction of the king.

Lewis, to shew his gratitude to the inhabitants of Cambray for this testimony of their good will, and willing at the same time to satisfy the emperor in regard to his complaints, ordered that the Imperial Eagle should be again replaced, where-ever the Flower-de-Luce had been set up, and restored the inhabitants to their liberty, without any other condition on their part than that of observing an exact neutrality, and owning his sovereignty and jurisdiction. The king afterwards *June 10.* agreed with Chimay upon a truce of ten days, which was prolonged for a year.

By this treaty Lewis engaged to restore to Maximilian all that he had conquered in Hainault and Franche-

Franche-Comté ; that freedom of commerce should be re-established ; and every one suffered to enjoy his property in quiet. In this truce were comprehended almost all the princes and states of Europe, without any mention of the pope. The conservators were to meet every fifteenth day, upon the territories of France and Flanders alternately, in order to adjust any differences that might arise in relation to the truce. Each party in the mean time chose six arbitrators, who were to be employed in negotiating a peace, and had power to nominate a supreme arbitrator within six months, if they could not agree among themselves about the terms of it. As soon as the truce was signed, the king sent orders to evacuate Quesnoy, Bouchain, Tournay, and several other towns, whose inhabitants for the most part regretted their being taken from under the government of France.

Chamont d'Amboise, who commanded in Burgundy, not having timely notice sent him of the truce, took Seure, Verdun, Mont Saugeon, and laid siege to Beaune which had revolted. Simon de Quingey, William Vaudrey, and Cottebrune, assembled some troops to relieve it, and had already surprized Verdun ; Chamont attacked them before they could fortify themselves in that place, made them all prisoners, and cut in pieces eight hundred Switzers and Germans who had joined them : He immediately returned before Beaune, and forced it to surrender upon very hard conditions. All their wines were seized, and they were over and above obliged to pay forty thousand crowns to save the city from total pillage.

The king being informed that Berry was upon the point of revolting, sent du Bouchage thither with unlimited power, who soon brought back the province to its obedience. Du Bouchage had already come off with honour and success in several commissions

sions of this kind. When the king found it necessary to invest any one with his authority, he generally did it without reserve or restriction; left irresolution, and the time usually taken up in sending and waiting for orders, might cause the expedients made use of to miscarry.

We have seen with what celerity the prince of Orange embraced and quitted the party of the king. The decree given against him did not fail to disquiet him; and in order to open a way for having it reversed, by some considerable revolution, he formed a design of poisoning the king. The person employed for this purpose was one John Renond, who having been servant at Lyons to a factor of the house of Medicis, had resolved upon a journey to Florence to try his fortune there by the means of his old master. He was arrested upon his way and conducted to S. Claude, where Erbains commanded. Erbains sent him to the prince of Orange, who after questioning him strictly, and causing him to be examined by the bastard of Orange, found him a resolute determined fellow, one that wanted an opportunity of making his fortune, who had boldness enough to commit a crime, and was incapable of being deterred from it by a horror of the guilt. He took him aside, and made him swear upon the Gospels, he would do whatever should be required of him: As if oaths could bind a man to a crime; or that villains ought to respect only such as it was unlawful for them to keep. Renond, as little scrupulous in point of oaths, as in regard to the crime itself, and greedy of the promised reward, readily yielded to every thing that was desired of him. The prince of Orange then told him, that the king after hearing mass, had a custom of kissing the corners of the altar, which he must therefore rub with a poisonous tincture. Renond took the poison, and was preparing to set out, when the prince of Orange imparted the
project

project to Erbains. This last told him, that he had done wrong in trusting a Frenchman, and that he knew of one, whom they could more assuredly depend upon, provided care was taken to bury the secret effectually, by making away with Renond. He was thereupon seized and sent to Salines; but found means to escape and get to Bourges by unfrequented ways. He was introduced to the king, made a full discovery of all we have related above, and to touch him in a sensible part, added, that having made a vow when in prison to the blessed virgin of Puy, and to St. James, the bonds were in a moment loosened from off his hands. He enlarged much upon this pretended miracle, and ran on with great fluency in a sort of discourse no less familiar to ruffians than crimes themselves.

The king ordered him to be carried before the parliament, to whom he at the same time sent a letter conceived in these terms.

My friends and subjects, the prince of Orange had formed a design to poison me; but God, the blessed Virgin, and St. Martin, have frustrated his wicked purpose, as you will see by the double of the informations I send you to be read in open court, before all the world, that no one may remain ignorant of the perfidy and treason of that prince.

Given at Cambray the 6th of June, 1478.

The parliament ordered all the informations to be read at the bar of the great chamber, and made publick proclamation of the prince of Orange's crime, whom they had already condemned to death.

It was probably in acknowledgment for the discovery of this conspiracy, that the king, at his return, expended so much in acts of devotion. He gave no less than two thousand Marcs of silver towards the raising

raising of a rail round the shrine of St. Martin, and rebuilt the church of Victoria near Senlis.

The devotion of this prince, tho' sometimes pushed to superstition, yet never hindered him from asserting the rights of his crown. Where they chanced to be concerned, he seldom piqued himself upon a childish devotion; he never failed indeed in the exterior marks of respect to the clergy, but would by no means suffer them to stretch their power beyond its proper bounds. Complaints were brought before him against certain mendicant friars who stiled themselves inquisitors of faith, and greatly molested the people in the mountainous parts of Dauphiné. A proclamation was published forbidding these audacious monks to disturb or harass his subjects, and reserving to himself and council the ultimate decision in all cases of that kind.

Lewis XIth's firmness and regard to justice, shone out still more conspicuous in the affair of the house of Medicis, whose defence he undertook against the pope.

The family of Medicis was the most powerful in Florence. Cosus de Medicis, surnamed the Great, added a new lustre to it; he was governor of the city, and exercised an almost sovereign authority in the republic. He owed his great riches to commerce, his authority to his riches, and the esteem in which he was held among his fellow-citizens, to the generous use he made of these advantages. The defender of the oppressed, the patron and protector of learning*, he was superior to most princes, by being a truly great man.

His

* Cosus de Medicis got together at Florence all the men of distinguished talents, who fled out of Greece upon the invasion of the Turks. It is by the channel of Italy that the sciences, learning, and the fine arts have been conveyed to us.

His fortune and merit drew upon him a load of envy. Adversity was still wanting to add a new lustre to his character, and the restless attempts of his enemies contributed to render his glory compleat. He was banished Florence, but the necessities of the state soon obliged them to recal him, and his authority became more firmly established than ever, as the publick safety was found to depend upon it. The Florentines continued it to his son Peter, and his grandsons Laurence and Julian supported it likewise with dignity.

The enemies of the house of Medicis might be said rather to lie quiet than be destroyed.* The Pazzi's and Salviati's, who next to them, were of greatest consideration in the state, wanted only an opportunity to ruin them. The family of the Pazzi's was very numerous; they were even nearly related to the house of Medicis, and Blanche, the sister of Laurence and Julian, was actually married to William Pazzi; but the ties of blood do not always form those of friendship, and seldom prevail against the incitements of ambition. Count Jerome de la Rovere, the pope's nephew, complained that the house of Medicis had hindered his becoming lord of Imola, and joined the faction of their enemies. After many projects and attempts to destroy them, they found there was no way left but to assassinate them. The execution of this design was attended with many difficulties; there was a necessity for murdering the two brothers at the same time, and in the midst of a people by whom they were extremely beloved.

The Pazzi's, and Francis Salviati, archbishop of Pisa, the chief conductors of the conspiracy, drew into it all those who either through a restlessness of temper, desperate fortunes, or a consciousness of their crimes, were desirous of a revolution; as *Bandini*, *Bagnioni*, *Maffei*, *Poggio* the son of the fa-
mous

Poggio, Monte-secco, and a great many others. conspirators fixed upon Sunday the 26th of April for the execution of their design. The place chosen was the church, and the signal the elevation of the host. So many awful circumstances raised terror in Monte-secco, who was a soldier; he refused to have any hand in it: Bagnioni a priest, took his place, and engaged to kill Laurence, while Niccisco Pazzi and Bandini should fall upon his back Julian and stab him.

Julian was now in readiness for the execution of their design. Laurence de Medicis was already in church, when the service began. Pazzi and Bandini, uneasy lest they saw not Julian, went to look for him, and brought him with them.

The two brothers took their seats: the archbishop, having no longer doubting of the success, went out with Poggio and a few more of the conspirators to the palace, and made sure of the magistrates. Whether it was chance, or suspicion, they had no reason entered, than the doors were shut upon them. While the assassins in the church fell upon the brothers. Bandini and Pazzi stabbed Julian; Laurence defended himself against Maffei and Bagnioni, and made his retreat into the vestry by the assistance of some friends, and especially of a man whom he had delivered out of prison two days before, and saved his life at the hazard of his own.

It is impossible to describe the confusion, terror, and uproar of the people in the church, where every man thought his life in danger. James Pazzi, the head of that family, mounted on horseback, and ran through the city, crying out, *liberty and the law*; but no body offered to join him, the general confusion keeping them all in suspense. Upon the friends of the house of Medicis, resuming courage, brought Laurence out of his asylum, and conducted him home in triumph. The people rose

L. II.

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upon the conspirators and slew them; they who were in the palace observing how matters went, joined in executing the publick vengeance, and to distinguish themselves the more, caused the archbishop of Pisa and Poggio to be hanged at the bars of one of the windows; Francisco Pazzi was seized, and underwent the same fate. The cardinal de la Rovere, the pope's nephew, very narrowly escaped the fury of the populace, and owed his safety wholly to the fear occasioned by two thousand men, whom the pope had ordered to advance, and be in readiness to support the conspiracy. These troops finding that the enterprize had miscarried, discharged their vengeance upon the country, by ravaging and laying it waste in a merciless manner; the people made reprisals upon all whom they suspected to be partizans of the house of Pazzi.

The king of Naples joined the pope in hopes that he might be able to draw some advantage from the present confusion of the republick, the Florentines implored aid on all hands, and sent Guy and Antony Vesnucci into France.

The king was afraid at first to meddle in the wars of Italy. Sanseverin endeavouring to persuade him, that he ought to take advantage of these troubles, in order to get some footing in that country: Lewis replied, that distant conquests were always burdensome, and never of any real service to the kingdom. Mean while the pope pushed on his designs so successfully, that the king thought proper to dispatch Commynes to Milan, to solicit the dukes to join with him and the Venetians, for the putting an end to these troubles. The dukes sent three hundred men at arms, who came very seasonably to the relief of the Florentines, they being sore pressed by the troops of the pope and the king of Naples.

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The arrival of an ambassador from France, and the interest the king seemed to take in protecting the republick of Florence, made the pope extremely uneasy. The cardinal of Pavia wrote to him upon this subject. One sees plainly by the manner in which the letter is penned, that the politicks of the court of Rome has been always the same. The cardinal expressly mentions; *That there was a necessity for using delays with the king's ambassadors; that if it was dangerous to offend that prince, it was no less so to discover any fear of him, or to abandon the enterprize; that in answer to his remonstrances, it would be necessary to make use of general and undetermined expressions, and to signify some surprize that a king so wise, who had ever been zealously attached to the Holy See, should thus suffer himself to be drawn in by a too easy credulity, to espouse the cause of impostors.* If it comes to a discussion of the fact, adds the cardinal, the pope's conduct may be justified, by making appear, that he was under a necessity of chastising the Florentines for putting to death so many ecclesiasticks; that his holiness would indeed have been satisfied with any probable token of their repentance, but that they were hardened in their crime, and had lapsed into heresy; that it was astonishing the king should have communion with them; that his holiness was, nevertheless, disposed to favour them out of regard to the intercession of so great a king, but he found the affair so important, as obliged him first to consult the sacred college; that it would require some time to assemble it, on account of the absence or distance of several of the cardinals; that the ambassadors mean while might remain perfectly easy, and should have notice sent them, as soon as the cardinal-college could be assembled.

The pope followed the council of the cardinal of Pavia; but the king interested himself warmly in the affair, and caused representation to be made to the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, and the other princes of the empire, how much it concerned them

all to avenge the Florentines, and prevent, by the punishment of that conspiracy, such as might otherwise be formed against themselves. He called a national council, interdicted all commerce with the court of Rome, and would allow none, who had been concerned in the assassination of the Medici's to set foot in the kingdom.

The pope complained to the emperor of the protection granted by the king to the house of Medici, and particularly of his calling a national council, an article that touched him in the most sensible manner. He exclaimed against the injury pretended to be thereby done to the holy see, and requested the emperor to represent to his majesty how ill it became a christian prince, to prefer the interests of a merchant, to those of God and the church.

Sixtus in hopes of being soon seconded by more formidable forces, thundered out his ecclesiastical censures against the Florentines, whom he treated as rebels and hereticks, because they would not suffer a troop of miscreants to cut their throats, but boldly stood up in the defence of their liberties. Altho' he made a mighty bustle about the interests of God and the church, it was nevertheless apparent that his views were purely human, nay, and very unjustifiable. Nor was the contempt he expressed for the family of Medici, whom he affected to treat as merchants, less blameable; especially when we consider the obscurity of his own descent. It is said that he was originally a fisher, and had by his liberalities engaged the house of Rovere to associate him into their family, in order to hide the meanness of his birth. One would think that self-love, as well as justice, might have induced him to show greater regard to men who owed their elevation to their own merit. The house of Medici were not less distinguished by the services they did their country, at the time they
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were treated by the pope as merchants, than when they afterwards became sovereign princes.

Sixtus had farther the assurance to say, in the instructions given to one of his nuncio's, that he consented to the calling of a general council, provided the several christian kings, would there give an account of their conduct and designs in regard to the church. Lewis, as pious as he was, or affected to be thought, understood perfectly his own rights, and was too jealous of them to allow of the least encroachment. Disgusted at the pope's repeated delays, he summoned a council to meet at Lyons. A piece was published on this occasion upon the usefulness of national councils, and to demonstrate, that the discipline of the church not being in all places the same, it was necessary for the prelates of a state to assemble from time to time under the direction of the sovereign, in order to secure and ascertain the purity of doctrine and manners. The king, in full council, made profession of his veneration for the pope and the holy see; but at the same time declared, that he thought it was for the interest, both of church and state, to assemble a general council; and therefore willed the prelates, abbots, chapters, and universities of the kingdom, to prepare for it by a national synod.

The assembly was opened at Orleans, and continued at Lyons the year following. They renewed the decrees of the council of Constance, and particularly that by which it was declared, that general councils derived their power immediately from God, and that the pope was bound to submit to their decisions. Principles too well known to stand in need of being here repeated, too evident to require proof, and upon which I think it unnecessary to insist any longer.

The king notified his intentions to the pope, and the rest of the Italian princes. The pope still pur-

suings his first design, contrived to protract the negotiations, and above all set himself to embroil the states from whom he had reason to fear any opposition. He stirred up the Genoese against the duke of Milan, engaged the Switzers to make war upon him, and that he might seem not wholly to reject the king's suit, pretended to grant the Florentines a truce, which he observed, or broke, as best suited his interest, and the prevailing circumstances of affairs.

Communes returned from Florence, after residing about a year in that place, Laurence de Medicis thanked the king for sending so wise and discreet a minister.

The disputes between the king and Maximilian were still more interesting than those of Florence. It had been agreed, that a meeting should be held to convert the truce into a lasting peace. Commissioners were named for that purpose, and Cousinot had made a collection of all the acts and papers relating to the king's claims upon the dominions of the late duke of Burgundy.

Sigismund of Austria, attached to Maximilian by the ties of blood, and to the king, by those of gratitude, ardently wished to see a good understanding settled between the two princes; but as he had scarce any credit with either, his efforts however commendable did little service.

The congress was appointed to be held at Boulogne. The king named the procurator-general S. Roman, and Halley the attorney-general, men well acquainted with the rights of the publick, for his plenipotentiaries. Before they set out, they made a declaration in parliament, that no accommodation interfering with the king's rights could be binding upon the state, and therefore before hand, protested against the validity of any concessions contrary to the just claims of the crown.

Maximilian's

Maximilian's commissioners opened the conferences by a speech ascertaining the territories of which duke Charles was in possession at the time of his death. They insisted that this possession sufficiently authorized the demand of the king's desisting from his pretensions, and restoring whatever he had seized since the duke's death.

In opposition to these demands, the plenipotentiaries for the king argued, that the constitutions of the realm allowed not of any alienation of domain, but upon default of heirs male, re-united to the crown whatever had been given under the title of appenage. They maintained, that the dukes of Burgundy could hold that duchy by no other tenure, and that Franche-Comté having been always considered as a part of it, must be subject to the same claims, that every peerdom ought to revert to the crown, and upon this principle they demanded Flanders; nor did they imagine there was any room for disputing Lille, Douay, and Orchies, with the king, inasmuch as Charles V. had yielded these towns to the duke, only for himself and his heirs male. As for the county of Boulogne, besides that it had been really usurped by the duke of Burgundy, the king was now in possession of it by right of conquest, and had moreover purchased the claims of the house of Tour. Maximilian's ministers replied, that they were not in condition to answer upon these articles, and must have time to receive new instructions, and inform themselves; thus the congress broke up at the end of three months.

The king was particularly careful to maintain the alliance with England. Part of queen Margaret's ransom had been already paid. Charles de Martigny bishop of Elne *, and la Tisaye, ambassadors of France, at Edward's court, represented to him, that the duchess dowager of Burgundy was ever ready to favour the attempts of the king's enemies. That she

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suffered

* This see has been since translated to Perpignan.

suffered the duke of Austria's troops to rendezvous upon the lands assigned to her by way of dower. And that the king was willing to make a farther grant of the revenues of Chaveins and Parriere, upon her consenting to hold these lands of him, and to withdraw from the party of his enemies.

The bishop of Elne likewise proposed that the truce, which had been concluded between the two kings for life, might be prolonged to a hundred years after their death, with a continuation of the yearly payment of the fifty thousand crowns, stipulated by the treaty of Amiens.

Edward was far from disliking these proposals; but what he had most at heart, was, the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin. He charged Tonstal and Langton his ambassadors to require, first, a security that the marriage should take place; secondly, a promise that if Elizabeth died, the dauphin should espouse her sister Mary; thirdly, that Elizabeth, being now in her twelfth year, and marriageable, might enjoy her dowry of sixty thousand crowns, seeing the delay of the nuptials proceeded not from her. The king replied: that he desired nothing so much as the completion of the marriage between the dauphin and the princess; that it was but reasonable to take all possible means for the securing so important an alliance; and that a dispensation was to be obtained for the marriage of the princess Mary with the dauphin, should Elizabeth happen to die. As to the dowry which was demanded from the time present, the king referred that matter to his council, who were unanimously of opinion that it could be no otherwise claimed than in consequence of the marriage itself, there being no instance of a contract in which the payment of the dowry anticipated the consummation of the nuptials.

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Although the king's answer was extremely reasonable, he yet found it necessary in order to give it the greater weight, to make a new payment of ten thousand crowns on the score of queen Margaret's ransom. Money seldom failed to remove all Edward's scruples. We shall see in the sequel how the marriage between the dauphin and Elizabeth came to miscarry.

Lewis resolved this year to make a settlement in regard to the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne. He had already disposed in marriage of all the sisters of the late duke of Savoy; this year he likewise married Anne, the daughter of Amadeus and Yolande of France, to Frederic prince of Tarentum, the second son of Ferdinand king *Sept. 1.* of Naples. The king obliged himself by the contract to give to Frederic in consideration of this marriage, the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, provided he could obtain the consent of the kings of Arragon and Castile, if not, he engaged to invest him in lands to the value of twelve thousand livres yearly rent, erected into a county. The king of Naples allowed his son two hundred thousand ducats, to be laid out in the purchase of an estate within the kingdom.

Zurita endeavouring to find out the motives of this alliance pretends, that Lewis hoped by means of the king of Naples to engage Matthias king of Hungary to continue the war against the emperor, which would disable him from sending supplies to his son Maximilian. But there is little reason to think the king had any such views, since at this very time the pope had brought about a peace between Matthias and Frederic. It is more likely that the king foreseeing his infirmities would carry him off before his son was of age, had resolved not to leave behind him any ground of wars or quarrels. He thought it better to resign Roussillon and Cerdagne to some

third person, than to the king of Arragon, with whom he had disputed so long for the possession of it; but the king of Arragon would by no means agree to this settlement. Ferdinand his son, king of Castile, was not so averse to the proposal. He was at war with Portugal, and dreaded the diversion which France might make on the side of Rouffillon.

Mendoza, styled by historians the cardinal of Spain, undertook to act as mediator between the kings of France and Castile. He made them sensible that Rouffillon was of small concernment in comparison of what was more properly their present interest; that they ought to unite, and apply their cares to the main chance; Lewis in maintaining his claim to the succession of Burgundy, and Ferdinand in settling himself upon the throne of Castile.

After several conferences it was agreed, that the king should continue in possession of the provinces of Rouffillon and Cerdagne, until he received payment of the two hundred and fifty thousand crowns, or that he should himself lay down the same sum, provided the kings of Arragon and Castile consented to the cession; that in the mean time a truce should be concluded for three months, and the king of Arragon be comprehended in it. This last prince appeared greatly dissatisfied with the treaty, he reproached his son with meanly relinquishing his rights, and told him that Lewis was sure to come off with advantage in all his negotiations with him. Ferdinand intimated to his father that he only complied with necessity, but was determined to seize the first opportunity of recovering possession of Rouffillon.

The king of Arragon accepted the truce, which, however, was but ill kept. Bac and Callard fortifying themselves in the castle of Roquebrune, made incursions into Rouffillon, Lampourdan, and even France itself, which made the king say that he found it was not sufficient to conclude a peace with the
king

king of Castile, unless he got it likewise signed by the kings Bac and Callard.

The truce was succeeded by a peace, which was signed at St. John de Luz. *Oct. 9.* Lewis engaged not to aid directly nor indirectly, Alphonso king of Portugal, John his son, or Jane, whom the Spaniards commonly named *la Bertranne*, as supposing her to be the daughter of Bertrand de la Cueva. Ferdinand and Isabella renounced the alliance of Maximilian.

The bishop of Lombez, Odet Daidie, and Souplainville, after signing the treaty of peace in the king's name, were appointed to settle with the commissioners of Castile, the reparation of the damages occasioned by the war. Shortly after, (19th of January 1479) John II. king of Arragon, died at Barcelona in the eighty-second year of his age, so extremely poor, that his very moveables were sold to pay off his domesticks, and defray the expences of his funeral. Eleonora, queen of Navarre, his daughter, died three weeks after; leaving Francis Phœbus her grandson, the son of Magdalen of France, her sole heir. Eleonora was perfectly acquainted with the interests and characters of the princes of her time. On her death-bed she counselled her grandson and people, to continue firm in the alliance of France, and not to confide in the king of Castile her brother, whose sole aim was to get possession of Navarre. It appeared in the sequel, that this her fear was but too well founded.

B O O K IX.

1479.
Easter,
April 11.

NEITHER the concern, which the king expressed for the Florentines, nor the justice of their cause, prevented the pope from persevering in his persecution of them. What gave him the greatest uneasiness was the calling of the council, which the king demanded. He sent Urbin de Fiesque bishop of Frejus, to assure his majesty, that he gave up his interests into his hands, and recommended to him the honour of the holy see; the ordinary discourse of the pontiff, when he found any obstacle to his designs. On the other side, the princes of the league in Italy, implored the protection of France, so that the king saw himself the arbiter of all those, who either dreaded his power, or sued for his justice. His majesty appointed Guy d'Arpajon viscount of Lautrec, Anthony de Morlhon de Castelmartin president of the parliament of Toulouse, John de Visins viscount d'Ambres, Peter de Caraman de Leonac, Tornieres judge of the senechalcy of Carcassonne, John de Morlhon advocate of Toulouse, and Compains a notary and secretary of the king, his envoys to pacify the troubles of Italy, and represent to the several parties, that their dissensions exposed all christendom to the invasions of the Turk. The ambassadors were principally charged to press the pope to come to an agreement with the Florentines, and to call a general council, as he was obliged to do by the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, otherwise to declare to him that the king would inhibit all his subjects from making provisions at Rome for benefices or dispensa-

dispensations. The ambassadors went first to Milan. The president de Morlhon, addressing himself to the dukes and the duke her son, told them, that his majesty considered their affairs as his own, that he would either restore peace to Italy, or declare openly against him that should decline it; that the pope and the princes of the league had engaged to submit to his judgment, and that as to Genoa and Savonna, he knew how to make good his sovereignty over them.

The dukes and duke of Milan began their answer with returning thanks to his majesty for the particular care he was pleased to take of the duchy of Milan. *We did not begin the war, added they, and are ready to accept of any honourable peace. We fear not however our enemies, so long as his majesty shall honour us with his protection. As we govern our subjects with justice, they serve us with affection; they respect us, fear us, and love us. The peace had not been broken, but through the ambition of the pope and the king of Naples. At the time when we were assisting the Venetians our allies against the Turks, the common enemy of christendom, the pope instead of animating our zeal and supporting our endeavours, stirred up Genoa and Savonna to a revolt against us. He abuses the simplicity of the Switzers, and promises them heaven, if they make war upon us; the recompence of virtue and peace is made the price of persecution. At the same time as St. Severin, Fiesque, and Fregose are ravaging our territories and those of Florence, the pope and Ferdinand acquaint his majesty by their ambassadors, that they will do nothing to displease him; they seek to impose upon his religion, as they cannot pervert his justice.*

The ambassadors going thence to Florence had their audience of the prior of Jan. 11. the liberty, the Gonfalonier and seignior, in the presence of the counsellors of the city, the ambassadors of the league, Laurence de Medicis, and all the nobility. They repeated very near the
same

same things they had said at Milan, dwelling upon the design the king had to restore peace to Italy, and bring about the reformation of the church, by demanding the convocation of a general council, which was so much the more necessary, as there had been none called since the council of Basil.

The prior of the liberty and the Gonfalonier representing the seigniory gave an answer, that was in substance the same with the duke of Milan's, but expressed in still livelier terms, and such as gratitude dictates to the unhappy, who implore the protection of a powerful prince, and yet dare not complain but with caution of an enemy as formidable as revengeful.

The ambassadors went from Florence to Rome. They began with giving up their credentials to cardinal St. Pierre-aux-Liens, whose advice the king had charged them to take, and who introduced them the next day to an audience of the pope.

Jan. 26. The president de Morlhon still speaking, assured the pope, that they were come from the king to pay him filial obedience, that his majesty had always loved him as his father, and wished that his Holiness would love him as his son. Morlhon then demanded a publick audience, which was granted for the next day.

The pope attended by almost the whole body of cardinals received the ambassadors with great ceremony. Morlhon knowing how enraged Sixtus was against the family of Medicis and the Florentines, was careful not to mention their name in this first audience. He went no farther than to represent the present state of Italy, and the dangers which threatened all christendom. He said, that as the Turk had made peace with Ussum-Cassam and the sultan of Egypt, he would doubtless turn his arms against the christians, and that the divisions which reigned in Italy would render it an easy conquest to him; that the king thought it his duty to restore peace among

among christian princes; that the preservation of the faith belongs to the popes, and the defence of the church to the kings of France. Morlhon, in speaking of the zeal of the princes of France, naturally took occasion to extol the services they had done to the pope; he added, that the king, having neither less virtue nor less power than his ancestors, was resolved to put an end to wars, which were a scandal to the faith, and dangerous to the states of christendom; that the bishop of Frejus the pope's nuncio, the ambassadors of Naples, with those of the league of Italy, had assured his majesty that all parties made choice of him for the arbitrator of their differences. Morlhon concluded with conjuring the cardinals to use their solicitations with the pope; to engage him to set bounds to his vengeance, and not to cast abroad the firebrands of war, who was himself the vicar of a God of peace.

In a private audience the ambassadors *Jan. 31.* reminded the pope of the friendship which had always subsisted between his holiness and the king, and the pains which his majesty had taken to cultivate it. And to draw off Sixtus from the alliance with Ferdinand king of Naples they added, that the king knew, that Ferdinand had made a treaty with the Turk; that Sixtus could not be ignorant how unlawful it was for him after such a treaty to be allied to Ferdinand, and how disreputable to decline the punishment due to him; and that they should not have addressed themselves to him in such terms as these but to fulfil their commission.

Sixtus answered, that he loved the king, and would do all in his power to preserve his friendship; that Ferdinand indeed had received an embassy from the Turks, but he did not know, that he had entered into any alliance with them. Sixtus then, without stopping at the points, which were not favourable to him, passed directly to what concerned the family of
Medicis,

Medicis, and said he could not imagine that the most christian king would either tolerate or excuse the hanging of an archbishop and his priests, or suffer them to be drawn in effigy in the very habits of their dignity, to add scandal to cruelty; that the Florentines, instead of shewing the least repentance for their outrages, consecrated them by monuments, and put up pictures of those executions in the palace of Florence; that notwithstanding he consented, out of respect to the king, to hear the proposals they should make him, provided they were not inconsistent with the honour of the holy see.

Though it was by no means difficult to justify the execution of the archbishop of Pisa and the priests, who had themselves dishonoured their character by their crimes, the ambassadors chose not to exasperate the pope by insisting upon that article. They replied, that the treaty of Ferdinand with the Turk was publicly notorious; that the king would be very careful to maintain the honour of the holy see and the rights of the church, which had ever been dear to him; but that if they went on to destroy the seigniory of Florence, to support the revolt of Genoa and Savonna, to deprive his kinsmen and allies of their just pretensions, and himself of the homage which was due to him from those two cities, he knew how to procure for himself that justice, which they denied him.

The ambassadors kept to the same language in the visits they made to the cardinals, and scrupled not to say, that if the pope continued to listen only to his passions, they ought to oppose it, or otherwise both Italy and the christian religion itself would be exposed to the utmost danger. They lastly declared openly, that his majesty notwithstanding his respect for the holy see would not give up one tittle of his pretensions.

In the mean time, Sixtus came to no determination.

tion. He openly disavowed what the bishop of Frejus had done in the affair of the arbitration assigned to the king. This prelate was interrogated by him in the presence of the ambassadors, and upon his confession, that his holiness having told him he was desirous of peace, he had taken upon himself to add, that he made choice of the king as an arbitrator, tho' he had not been expressly bid to do it; Sixtus in a violent passion ordered him to quit the room, took from him his office of referendary, and charged him never to appear before him again. This disgrace of the bishop of Frejus so intimidated the cardinals, that they presumed not to oppose the pope, or expose themselves to his rage and resentment.

The ambassadors having received fresh instructions, represented to the pope, Feb. 5. that several of his predecessors had not scrupled to entrust their concerns in the hands of the kings of France; that this method had usually been the securest means of maintaining or restoring the peace of the church; and that to terminate all differences, they had orders to propose the following conditions:

Laurence of Medicis, and the seignior of Florence, shall ask pardon of the pope for having caused the archbishop of Pisa and the priests to be hanged by their own authority, without having first degraded them.

The pope shall give them absolution in the accustomed form by a proxy, and in the presence of a legate, whom his holiness shall send to Florence for this purpose.

They shall take down from the palace all the pictures representing those executions.

There shall be said every year a service of Requiem, for the souls of those that were executed.

The Florentines shall swear to remain perpetually faithful to the church, never to form any attempt against the liberties and immunities of the clergy, nor against the rights and authority of the holy see.

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The most illustrious league shall promise the same thing, neither shall either of them give any disturbance to the states of the church, to those of king Ferdinand, of count Jerome de la Rovere, or of any other, whom the pope shall please to nominate.

The sovereign pontiff, king Ferdinand, count Jerome, and all their allies, shall in like manner swear to be at peace with the league, the Florentines, and the magnificent Laurence de Medicis, and shall all join against the Turk, for the security of their dominions.

Peace being thus made, they shall all turn their arms against the Turk, supply and maintain what troops they can, for the time that shall be judged necessary; and when this is done, the pope shall restore to the Florentines what has been taken from them, and give them absolution.

His holiness is desired to consider, that the Florentines are not the aggressors, and that if they have done any thing contrary to the sacred canons, the blame should be charged upon those who made the first attack.

And still they menaced the pope, that in case he rejected the peace, they would call a council in France, whither the kings of Spain and Scotland, the duke of Savoy, all the allies of the crown, the princes and states of the league in Italy would send their deputies.

Sixtus seeing himself thus warmly pressed by the king, sought to support himself by the assistance of the emperor and Maximilian, and de-
Feb. 15. fired their ambassadors to be present at the audience he was to give to the ambassadors of France. The latter having summarily repeated their proposals, the archbishop of Strigonia began to speak, and said, that the emperor his master had been informed that they attacked the honour of the holy see, that they blamed the pope, and were forming great designs against him, but that he would oppose them with all his forces; that he pitied the Florentines, and begged of the pope to treat them

them with compassion, but that he thought his conduct unexceptionable; that he likewise desired the peace of Italy, and that all christian princes would join to repel the Turk; that he knew not why they talked of calling a council, which was by no means necessary; and that he would employ all his forces to defend the honour and authority of the holy see.

The embassador of Maximilian attempting to second what the archbishop had advanced, began his discourse with these words, *The duke of Burgundy my master*. But Morlhon interrupted him, and said, that Maximilian was neither duke of Burgundy *de facto* nor *de jure*, and that this title belonged only to the king.

If all christian princes, added Morlhon, are obliged to defend religion, the church, and the pope's authority, no body has a greater right to do it than the king; 'tis a right acquired by too many services done both by him and his predecessors to this very day, to be disputed him by any one; that the calling of a council was only proposed, in case the pope refused to restore peace to the church; which if he continued to refuse, the king would be obliged to call one; and that if the emperor and Maximilian would not send their deputies thither, they would assemble it without them.

Sixtus answered the Memorial of the embassadors in writing; *That he earnestly desired peace, but that the sacred college absolutely refused to accept of the king's arbitration; that the excesses of the Medicis's and their accomplices were of such a nature, that they could neither be confessed nor absolved by proxy; that it was necessary for Laurence de Medicis, the prior of the liberty, the Gonfalonier, and ten deputies to come in person to ask pardon; that the Florentines should found a chapel with two priests, who should every day say mass for the repose of the archbishop of Pisa's soul; that they would consider of the securities requisite to be taken in the affair of the oath of fidelity to be enjoined the Florentines, as also in re-*
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lation to the confederacy they proposed; that it would be adviseable for the king to declare what supplies he would himself engage to make in the union to be formed against the Turk; that before restitution was made to the Florentines of what had been taken from them, it would be proper for them to defray the expences of the war; and that in order to settle this article, it would be necessary to wait the arrival of the ambassadors of the league.

In the mean time, the pope's troops laid waste the country; nothing was to be heard of but fire and slaughter; the labourers fled and deserted their tillage; so that famine was upon the point of succeeding immediately to all the horrors of war. And when complaints were carried of it to the pope, he was so cruel as to say, that it was only by such methods that he could reduce the Florentines.

In answer to this barbarous reply, which bordered upon phrenzy, they told him, that if he persisted in those sentiments, all the princes would forsake him, and that he would then see how he could carry on the war, and keep the people of Rome in obedience.

The pretensions of Sixtus encreased every day with his passions; he proposed new articles still more severe than the former, and insisted that all the world should submit to his laws, which were dictated by fury. The ambassadors told him,

Mar. 31. that if in eight days time he did not lay down his arms, and recall his censures, they would retire. They repeated to him all the reasons they had already urged, and added, that all Europe was as much scandalized with his obstinacy, as offended at his injustice. Sixtus saw himself at
April 14. last obliged to recall his censures, and agree to a suspension of arms.

Not long after there arrived an embassy from Genoa, to pay obedience to the pope. The ambassadors of France immediately went to him, and told him he could not be ignorant, that the king was
sovereign

sovereign of Genoa and Savonna ; that the Genoese could not pay obedience to his holiness, nor could he receive their ambassadors without owning them to be independent, which in reality they were not. Sixtus answered, that he had no intention to do any thing to the king's prejudice, but that he could not avoid hearing the ambassadors of Genoa ; that he received only their obeisance for their spiritualities, and that the king's ministers might be present the next day at the audience he should give the Genoese, and make their protestations.

The ambassadors of Genoa appeared in the consistory, and presented their credential signed by John-Baptiste Campo-Fregose duke of Genoa *by the grace of God*, made their harangue, and returned their thanks to the pope, that by his assistance and the aid of the king of Naples they were restored to their antient liberty.

Morlhon attempting to speak, the pope enjoined him silence, received the obeisance of Campo-Fregose as duke of Genoa, caused it to be entered upon record, and then told Morlhon that he might speak.

Morlhon protested against every thing that had been done, and declared that he could in no wise acknowledge the pope's jurisdiction in this affair, which belonged only to the king, as the sole and lawful sovereign of Genoa and Savonna ; that it was not allowed to *Messire Baptiste*, so Morlhon called Fregose, to assume the title of duke by the grace of God, and much less to pay obeisance to the pope ; that he scrupled not to tell his holiness, that he had been to blame to interrupt him, and still more so to receive the homage of Genoa, and that the only reparation he could make was by a retraction. Morlhon then straight addressed himself to the Genoese, and charged them to declare whether they acknowledged themselves to be the king's subjects or not. The pope answering for
them,

them, told him, that he did not claim to be the temporal lord of Genoa, and that he received their homage without prejudice to the king's pretensions.

The pope's notaries, and John Compain the king's secretary, drew up on each side a verbal report of what had passed. And great warmth was expressed upon the occasion. The emperor's ambassador, as minding to have a share in the contest, said, that the title of most christian more properly belonged to his master than the king, as the emperor protected the pope and the church, whereas the king supported a league against them both. The king's ministers replied with resolution; but these disputes neither tended to the establishment of peace, nor cleared up the question.

Some days after the ambassadors of England came to Rome, and joined with those of France. These ministers boldly declared, that their masters were absolutely resolved to put an end to the wars of Italy, and that the pope must determine whether he would accept of their arbitration or no, as the princes of the league had already done.

May 31. Upon that the pope held another consistory, to which he invited the ambassadors of France, England, the league, and all the foreign ministers in general. He ordered a long discourse to be read to them, which by seeming to discuss the question, served only to make it more intricate and embarrassed. The ambassadors of France and England, tired out with so many delays, declared their powers were expired; and the ambassador of Venice, that he had orders to retire. The pope, having no longer any other part to take, submitted at last to the arbitration of the two kings.

The ambassadors before their departure were present at the administration of the oath taken by the cardinal of S. Pierre-aux-Liens for the bishoprick of Mande, and by Galeas de la Rovere for that of
Agen.

Agen. They both swore to be good and loyal to the king against all persons whatsoever; to keep secret whatever passed in the councils to which they should be called; and to reveal to him whatever might be injurious to him and his crown.

Laurence de Medicis judging that the pope would make no scruple to break an engagement, into which he had been drawn with so much difficulty, thought proper to apply himself directly to Ferdinand king of Naples. This prince was touched with the confidence placed in him by de Medicis, and made peace with him. Sixtus was so much displeased with it, that he soon after quarrelled with Ferdinand. The interests of the princes of Italy then changing face, the king applied himself to the making up of peace between the duke of Milan and the Switzers, that he might have nothing to employ himself upon but his own affairs.

His principal care was to cultivate the friendship of the king of England, and to prevent his being gained by the solicitations of the duchess dowager of Burgundy. As he paid no great regard to formalities, when it was of use to him to lay them aside, he ordered the chancellor Doriolle, though excused by his place from making any visit, to visit the ambassador of England, and try if he could get out of him the secret of his instructions. The chancellor managed the ambassador so well, that he engaged his master to sign the prolongation of the truce for an hundred years after the death of both the kings. *Feb. 15.*

After the treaty made with England, the king being less fearful of any enemy he might have, reformed * ten companies of soldiers. Several of those who

* These were those of Dammartin, Briguebec, la Tremouille, Mouy, Doriolle, Rufec de Balzac, Guerin le Graing, Robinet du Quesnoy, Buffet, and Poyssien called le Poulailler.

who commanded them were disgraced, at the same time as they were reformed. Balzac was prosecuted, and the king was so much prejudiced against him, that he wrote a note to the chancellor in the following terms; *see that you do justice thoroughly, that I may have no reason to be dissatisfied; for it belongs to you to do justice.* Notwithstanding this prejudice, Balzac must surely have been innocent, as he was acquitted. Doriole and his lieutenant were convicted of a design to have passed into the service of Maximilian, and condemned to lose their heads. Their bodies were quartered, and their quarters set up at Bethune, Arras, and in the principal towns of Picardy.

Dammartin was treated with distinction; the king wrote to him upon the reform, and continued his pensions, which amounted to above five and twenty-thousand livres. The king employed the funds of these companies in raising a body of Switzers. And from this time it was that they entered into the service of France.

The mutual distrust of the king and Maximilian foretold an approaching rupture. Cambray seemed of so much importance to both parties, that the garison was by agreement to consist of equal numbers on both sides; but notwithstanding Boffu and Hautbourdin surprised that place. The

Apr. 28. truce being broken, Boffu and Harchies, Ravestein and John de Luxembourg took the field, and made themselves masters of Crevecoeur, Oisi, Honnecourt and Bouchain. Eighteen Frenchmen threw themselves into the castle of the last place and defended it for three hours against a whole army; but seven of them being slain, the rest were taken, and executed, without any regard had to their extraordinary courage, which deserved a better fate.

Des Querdes and Gie, who commanded for the king in that canton, got together about eight hundred lances, and recovered most of the places, which had been seized by the enemy.

The king sent an herald to the duke and dukes of Austria to complain of the infraction of the truce, and at the same time sent a powerful army into Burgundy under the command of Charles de Chaumont.

Maximilian appeared to have a design upon Dijon; but Chaumont defeated that project by seizing upon all the castles in the neighbourhood, and laid siege to Dole. This was a notable enterprize; the advantageous situation of the place, and the honour it had already enjoyed of causing a French army to raise a siege, served only to animate Chaumont. He battered the town very furiously with his artillery, the attack and the defeat were equally brisk, and the sallies frequent and bloody.

The French having been repulsed in an attack, the success of the siege became very uncertain; but a part of the garison consisting of foreigners, suffered themselves to be corrupted. The French taking advantage of a sally, entered the place as they pursued the besieged. Immediately they cry victory, kill the guards, and put the city to fire and sword. Most of the inhabitants died sword in hand, and such as escaped the massacre were dispersed.

The consternation spread through the whole province. Auxonne surrendered upon condition, that all who pleased, whether soldiers or citizens, might depart with their effects, without being obliged to go over to the other side; that such as were left in the town should preserve their substance, and enjoy the same privileges they did before they fell under the king's obedience. Chaumont swore to the observation of all the articles of the capitulation, and Ferry de Clugny took an oath in the name of the inhabitants, that they

would faithfully serve the king against all others whatsoever, and particularly against the duke and dukes of Austria.

The inhabitants of Besançon surrendered to the king upon the same conditions as they had done to the last dukes of Burgundy, saying that they made an association with him as count of Franche-Comté. The governor for the king was to have the absolute disposition of all that related to was and the execution of justice; the revenues and profitable duties were to be divided between the king and the community. The treaty

July 8. signed by Chaumont was ratified by the king at Nemours. All the places in the province followed their example, in so much that the valour and wisdom of Chaumont made the king master of Franche-comté in a single campaign.

The king desirous of making a good use of the dispositions of his new subjects, came to Dijon, swore to maintain all the privileges of the city, and confirmed those of the church of Mâcon, and of several others.

The French did not succeed so well in *June 15.* the Low-Countries. They attempted to surprise Douay; but a deserter having given the alarm in the town, they immediately put themselves upon their guard, fired upon them, and obliged them to retire.

The count of Chimay was more successful than the French in the attempt he made upon Verton. The garison of that place made continual excursions into Luxembourg, and laid the whole province under contribution. Chimay laid siege to Verton at the head of an army of 10,000 men, and pressed the siege so vigorously, that the garison fearing to be carried by storm, surrendered upon the sole condition of marching out with a *white staff in their hands,*
without

without carrying any thing off. Chimay secured the conquest of Verton by that of several castles.

On the other side, Maximilian assembled an army under S. Omers, of eight and twenty thousand men, and invested Terrouenne. Upon this news des Querdes decamped from Blangis, and advanced into the field. Upon the approach of the French, Maximilian changed the order of his army, which was divided into several bodies. Des Querdes perceiving this motion, thought that the enemy was flying, and marched to attack them. The young Salazar, rash, but excellent at any sudden attempt, marching into the field surprised a party of the French, and defeated them. This small advantage brought on the battle. The troops of Maximilian required their officers to lead them on to the engagement.

The French were posted on the mountain of Enguin, opposite to that of Guinegate, where the enemy lay. The French army consisted of eighteen hundred lances and four thousand franc-archers. The enemy had far less cavalry, but were much superior in their foot, and their numbers were pretty nearly equal.

Maximilian resting upon the mountain of Guinegate placed five hundred English archers in the front of his army, supported by three thousand German archers or arquebusiers lined with artillery, and threw his horse into the wings.

The battle began about two o'clock. The French gend-armes attacked the enemy's horse. The encounter was extremely fierce; and they long fought with equal advantage; but the Flemish horse, being pushed beyond the foot, gave way and were soon put to flight. Des Querdes and Torcy pursued them to the fosses of Aire, and committed an irreparable fault in carrying with them the horse, in which the strength of their army consisted. The

French archers taking this first advantage for the victory, threw themselves upon the baggage, and fell to plundering instead of fighting. The count de Romont taking advantage of this disorder, fell upon the archers and put them to flight. Nassau at the same instant charged the French horse, who disbanded in pursuing the Flemish gend-armes. French being once divided, rallied only by peloton they fought always bravely; but their whole served only to dispute a victory, which they thro' their own fault, and which their could not say they had gained. They passed the night indeed upon the field of battle, but they all the advantage they gained by the labour of day; they were obliged to abandon the siege, could never attempt any thing more of consequence during the rest of the campaign. They lost few officers of distinction, such as the grand bail of Bruges, the son of Cornelius bastard of Burgundy, d'Haluin, des Cornets, Abazieres, Lormon, S. Moleroncourt. The counts of Romont and d'ign were wounded. Ligne, Olivier de Croy, de Frêne, Barlette, la Marche, la Gruthuse, Tilloy, Quesnoy, Visinal, and Grandinet, taken prisoners. The French lost no officers of distinction, except Wasse de Montpedon, and Bl le Beauvoisien.

The king underwent great inquietudes upon first news he had of this action. His natural disposition made him believe, that they did not acquit with the loss. He was used to say, that he took his subjects money from them only to spare their blood, and that he did not love to hazard a battle. He even never attacked a place, 'till after he had tried to gain the governor by presents; and when he found him avaritious, he soon triumphed over it by prodigality.

Amelgardus,

Amelgardus, a contemporary writer and violent enemy to Lewis XI. says that both sides claimed the victory, and that the French, after having got it, lost it only thro' their avarice.

When the king was better informed of what had passed in the action, he dispatched messengers to the quarters to allay the fears which his own uneasiness had raised. And as he knew, that the loss of the battle was entirely owing to the greediness of his making prisoners, to gain by their ransom, he ordered that they should all be added to the general booty, and sent a letter to S. Pierre the grand marshal upon this head, in the following terms ;

le grand sénéchal, I beg you would let M. de S. André know, that I will be served to my own profit, with avaritious views. So long as the war lasts, the prisoners be thrown into the general booty, and whom you shall find capable of doing me disservice they may not be given up..... I will have them thrown into the booty, for by this means the captains and the bulk of the prisoners will bring them in but ; this is what I require, that another time they do not all, and take no more prisoners, nor horses, nor men, nor we ever lose the battle. I beg of you, my M. le grand sénéchal, speak to all the captains by word, and see that the thing be done as I require. Bid M. de S. André make not the least opposition, as the first instance of disobedience I have ever had from an officer..... I will soon take his head from his shoulders ; but I believe he will not contradict

The

* A lieutenant in the duke of Bourbon's company.

† To understand the motives of this letter, it will be necessary to know, that the ransoms of prisoners being anciently given to those who had taken them, the eagerness of taking them was greater than that of fighting. Lewis XI. by ordering these ransoms to be thrown into the

The loss of the victory of Guinegate was amply made up to France by the success of *vice-admiral Coulon*, who having encountered the Dutch fleet consisting of fourscore vessels as they were returning home from the Baltick sea and the herring-fishery, took it and carried it into the ports of Normandy. This capture threw all Holland into a consternation.

Maximilian having recruited his army, set out from Aire at the head of five and twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse, and attacked the castle of Malanoy defended by Remond d'Ossaigne surnamed the cadet Remonnet, and an hundred and sixty resolute Gascons. This handful of men stop'd the progress of Maximilian's army for three days. They were at last carryed by storm, and most of them slain with their arms in their hands. Remonnet surrendering upon assurances given him, that he should be treated as a prisoner of war, was hanged.

The king, resolved to take vengeance in an exemplary manner for the execution of Remonnet, ordered several prisoners of distinction to be marked out and hanged. Tristan l'Hermite provost of the army caused seven to be hanged upon the spot, where Remonnet had been executed. Ten were hanged before Douay, ten before S. Omers, ten before Lisle, and ten before Arras. Among these unhappy persons was a son of the king of Poland, who was going to be executed, when there came a courier from the king to save his life. His majesty, to compleat his vengeance, ordered his troops to march along the Lis towards the county of Guine, with orders to put all to fire and sword. They took seventeen places,

the general booty, and divided in common, made his soldiers less sollicitous about taking prisoners, than when they were assigned to each private man's account.

places, which were all of them almost entirely reduced to ashes.

The series and chain of events, which passed this year in the Low-Countries and the two Burgundies, has not allowed me to mention the projects which the king had formed, and would have fully executed, if the truce had been as faithfully kept, as he expected.

He ordered a collection to be made of all the laws and customs, whether French or foreign, in order to form from them one settled and uniform code for the whole kingdom. By this means he intended to cut short all law-suits, to prevent any wranglings arising from a diversity of interpretations, and to have but one law, one weight, and one measure. There is no person, except those who subsist by our errors and abuses, but must lament that such a project should still remain unexecuted. * Lewis made also this year a very discreet regulation concerning the watch and ward of castles. Private lords abused a supposed right to vex their vassals; they made them quit their occupations and employments, or obliged them to excuse themselves from watching by a pecuniary mulct; and they required the largest sums from those who were most necessary to their profession, and consequently to the state. The king guarding such places by his troops, as were of consequence to the security of the kingdom, judged it useless, and perhaps dangerous, for particular lords to guard their own castles; that this privilege, which possibly might have formerly been of service, was now no more than an occasion of revolt, and a pretext for vexation; and that in the present government it ought to cease with the necessity, that had given rise to it. It was ordered, that in all

M 4

places,

* An uniformity of laws would certainly be very advantageous; but 'tis said, that a diversity of measures is favourable to trade.

places, which were not frontier, those who were subject to watch and ward should be excused from it by paying yearly five sols. The people by this means found themselves delivered from a multitude of private tyrants, whose authority was so much the more severe, as it was frequently usurped.

In commending Lewis XI. for securing his lawful authority, I cannot but own that he sometimes carried it too far. He caused informations to be exhibited against the duke of Bourbon's officers for several proceedings, whereof they were accused by one Doyac, a vassal of the duke's, and his declared enemy. The memorial presented against this prince charges him with fortifying his places, maintaining troops, altering the coin, preventing appeals from his own to the king's courts, and putting to death several persons. The king ordered the matter to be inquired into; but what shewed more passion than justice, Doyac himself was one of the commissioners appointed for the enquiry. The duke of Bourbon's chancellor appeared before the parliament, proved that his master had done nothing but what was right, and overturned all the calumnies of his accusers. After a long suit the duke's officers were acquitted.

In the mean time Ferdinand having made peace with France, queen Isabella took a journey to Alcantara, to visit her aunt Donna Beatrix, the mother to the queen of Portugal. It was at first expected, that an accommodation between the crowns of Castille and Portugal would have been the fruit of this interview; but the conferences were without effect. The war was revived with greater fury than ever. The Portuguese, upon losing the battle of Albufeira and several important places, were obliged to make peace. The king of Portugal and Jane his mother, re-nounced

Sept. 4.

nounced the crown of Castile, and Ferdinand the title of king of Portugal.

Zurita is mistaken, when he says, that the peace between Portugal and Spain was concluded in the interview between Isabella and Donna Beatrix ; it was not made till eight months after. He is again mistaken, when he says, that arbitrators were then agreed upon to decide the differences between France and Spain. This was done the year before, nor had the king then any minister in Spain:

About this time the duke of Albany, brother to James III. king of Scotland, having escaped out of the prison where the king his brother kept him confined, came to Paris. Six months before there came ambassadors from Scotland to treat of a marriage for the duke of Albany. This is all we know of it ; though it is believed to have been with Anne de la Tour, the daughter of Bertrand de la Tour, and Louise de la Tremouille. The historian of the university might possibly hence be mistaken in speaking of the ambassadors of Sweden, before whom the university marched in procession. I do not find there was any embassy from Sweden this year ; and perhaps for *Sueciæ* we ought to read *Scotiæ*.

The king paid the duke of Albany all possible honours, but refused him the aid he demanded against the persecution of his brother. Edward supplied him with an army under the command of the duke of Gloucester. The duke of Albany returned into Scotland, was received in Edinburg, and could have dethroned his brother, if his generosity had not been superior to his resentment. The king of Scotland more offended at his virtue, than affected with it, could not forgive his brother the fright he had thrown him into. The duke of Albany finding himself obliged either to renew the war, or be perpetually exposed to persecution, came over again into France to be out of the way of it.

After the battle of Guinegate, the rest of the year was spent in negotiations. Lewis at the beginning of the year had sent Blanchefort the mareschal of his household into Provence, to engage king Reignier, to give up to him the Barrois, Anjou, and the other territories, for which he could treat. The king to prevail upon him, demanded of him the portion of Mary of Anjou, the reimbursment of several considerable sums which the duke of Calabria had received, and the ransom of queen Margaret. He made in short so many pretensions, that Reignier consented to give up to his majesty the town and provostship of Bar-le-Duc with this clause ; *by way of renting and for six years, according to the appointments made by the bishop of Marseilles, and Honorat de Bere.* Reignier dispatched la Jaille his chamberlain to settle this affair. And the king ordered Bournel his master of the household, and Montmirel clerk of the accounts, to take possession of the duchy of Bar. Reignier held this duchy of the cardinal of Bar, who had usurped it from Robert de Bar his nephew.

The friendship which the king had always had for the house of Savoy, farther engaged him to take duke Philbert under his protection, who at the time of his mother's death Yolande of France was not quite fourteen years old. The young duke's uncles all equally pretended to the regency and guardianship, concerning which the states were determined to decide. The king dispatched the count of Dunois, the duke's uncle by his wife, with Frederick prince of Tarentum, and Commines, who conducted Philbert into Dauphine *.

Notwith-

* Guichenon the historian of Savoy, an author otherwise very exact, seems not to have known of this journey. But we see by the accounts of Denis Bidaut, that Philbert came into Dauphiné, to Bourges, and to Tours, from whence he was conveyed back to Camberri by Lewis d'Amboise,

Notwithstanding the solemn engagements, which the duke of Britany had entered into with Lewis XI. he still kept up a correspondence with Edward, and offered him to give his daughter in marriage to the prince of Wales. The king laid before the duke his treaties, his letters and his oaths, and let him know that he could not be unacquainted with his majesty's being at war with Maximilian; that when France was attacked, all her vassals were bound to assist her; and that himself the duke of Britany being a prince of the blood was obliged to it by his quality, his rank, and his treaties.

The duke not seeming disposed to fulfil his engagements, the king resolved to give him some disturbance. He purchased of John de Brosse and Nicola de Chatillon or Britany, the claim they had to this * duchy. Nicola was the great grand-daughter and heiress of Jane the cripple, who had so courageously disputed Britany with her uncle John de Montfort. The duke knowing that such pretensions, having some foundation in themselves, become still more effective in the hands of a powerful prince, entered into a league offensive and defensive with the duke and dukes of Austria, and with Edward.

Lewis finding that it was of no use to put princes in mind of their engagement by treaties, which were never

d'Amboise, bishop of Alby. Philip de Commines likewise makes no mention of this journey, but speaks only of that, which was taken in 1482.

* For the sum of 500,000 livres, whereof 35,000 were paid to John count of Nevers, duke of Brabant, for what was left unpaid of the portion of the late Paule de Brosse his second wife, and the other 15000 to Isabel de la Tour the wife of Albret lord of Orval. This affair was transacted on the 12th of Dec. 1479, but was not signed till the 2d of Jan. following. By this means John de Brosse and Nicola his wife lost the barony of Penthievre, which was never restored either to them or their descendants.

never interpreted but according to their own interest frequently misunderstood, chose rather to seem ignorant of this treaty, than to complain of it. He completed the payment of queen Margaret's ransom, continued to pay Edward's pension, and sent Guyot de Chefnay his *Maitre-de Hotel*, into England, with Garnier master of the requests and mayor of Poitiers, under the pretext of settling the dowry of the princess Elizabeth, who was to marry the dauphin. The English demanded fourscore thousand livres; the king constantly offered a much less sum, as having no design to bring the affair to a conclusion, but seeking only to gain time and negotiate every where.

He dispatched ministers to every one of the Swiss cantons, to raise forces, and to prevent his enemies from doing the same. On the other side he hearkened to the propositions, which the Genoese made him by Hector de Fiesque count of Lomaigne.

At the same time Perceval de Dreux his majesty's chamberlain, and Peter Francberge master of the requests, were at Metz to confer with the deputies of Catherine de Gueldres, the bishop of Munster and the county of Zutphen. These deputies first demanded that the young duke of Guelderland and his sister should be set at liberty, whom the late duke Charles had carried with him, when he made himself master of the duchy of Guelderland and county of Zutphen, and whom Maximilian still kept prisoners.

The king required, that Catherine de Gueldres, the bishop of Munster, and the states of Zutphen, should engage by letters patents to serve France constantly against Maximilian and his descendants. The deputies agreed very well with the king's ministers; but they demanded, that the king should not be allowed to make the least truce before the deliverance of the duke of Guelderland, whereas his
majesty

majesty would not renounce the liberty of making a short suspension of arms according, as circumstances should arise. What the issue of these conferences was, we know not.

Towards the end of this year his majesty translated the body of his first wife Margaret of Scotland from the cathedral of Châlons to a chapel in the abbey of S. Laon at Tours, where this princess had chose to be buried. *Dec. 13.*

The small dependance there was to be had upon treaties obliged the king to be perpetually negotiating. He was well informed of all the intrigues of the duke of Britany, and knew that the emperor had threatened the Switzers to make war upon them, if they supplied France with troops. The advantage he made of these advices was to keep pensionaries in every canton. *1480. Easter, April 2.*

The king having constantly his eye upon England again sent the bishop of Elne with Castelnau, Bretevous, and Baillet master of the requests, to settle the conditions of the truce for an hundred years, to agree upon arbitrators of the differences that might arise during that term, and to persuade the English, that he desired the accomplishment of the dauphin's marriage with the princess Elizabeth.

The greatest difficulty was, that Edward insisted upon the dukes of Austria and Britany being comprehended in the truce. Lewis urged, that they ought to be excluded, because by the treaty made in August 1475, all those, who were disposed to be comprehended in the truce, were obliged to declare it within three months, and that as the late duke Charles had not done it, those who represented him had no right to do it; that besides the article, which before related to the duke of Burgundy, could now be applied to no body but the king, who was in reality lord of Burgundy, as it was reverfible to the crown.

all the privileges of that city, reserving only to himself the right of protection.

He purchased Châtel-sur-Moselle for *April.* sixty thousand livres. This acquisition, with that of the duchy of Bar, and the new pensions he paid into England, were very expensive to him; and he farther found himself obliged to give an hundred thousand livres to the Switzers. Having observed that this nation was indifferent to whom it was allied, and entirely influenced by interest, he governed it by that, and hindered it from declaring in favour of Maximilian, who could give nothing more than promises, whilst France advanced considerable sums.

Vergy, Buffi Lamet, Cleret, and Vaudrey, were solely employed in retaining the Switzers in the king's alliance. But as his majesty could not be ignorant, that notwithstanding the sums he advanced for them, it was a grievance to them to see him master of Franche-comté, he fortified Auxonne, Poligny, and the other places, which Chaumont had taken.

So many extraordinary expences obliged Lewis XI. to retrench a fourth part of the pensions. This remedy not sufficing, he called together the states of several provinces; and it was resolved, that to supply the necessity of the state without burdening the people, the taxes in several provinces should be paid in kind, which would be more easy to the inhabitants, and no less profitable to the state, than if paid in money. Normandy was charged with finding provisions for the army of Picardy, and Champagne with that of Luxembourg. The provinces beyond the Loire were to keep the army of Burgundy. Coittier his majesty's first physician and Galchaut his maître-d'hôtel were to inspect the provisions.

The body of the army was in Artois, and kept at bay the army of Maximilian. Chaumont with a
body

body of troops entered Luxembourg, and took Virenton and Yvoy. The campaign passed in skirmishes. Galiot, who ever since the death of duke Charles had served under the king, made continual inroads into Luxembourg. Chantereine laid siege to Beaumont. The countess of Varnebourg, of the house of Croy, defended herself with all the courage of the greatest commander. Not being able to keep the place, she retired into the castle, and did not capitulate till she had her husband's express orders. She went out upon honourable conditions, and retreated with him into Germany.

The two parties apprehending a general affair, sought to surprize each other. Des Querdes the king's lieutenant in Picardy, caused a false information to be given to Cohin governor of Aire, by one Robin. He suffered himself to be persuaded, that it was very easy to surprize Hesdin, and set out for this expedition at the head of 500 of the bravest men of the garison of Aire. He came by night to the foot of the wall; and Robin drawing near to it spoke to the centinel, who answered as being in the secret. There was a hole-dug in a tower six foot lower than the floor, which Des Querdes had caused to be made for this purpose. Robin entered first, and made his escape by means of the darkness; every one pressing to follow him, great numbers of the enemy were presently in the tower, and cried out *Long live Burgundy*. At the same instant the trap-door was let fall, and they found themselves taken prisoners, when they thought they were masters of the place. Not being able to escape, and refusing to surrender, they were all killed with their swords in their hands. Cohin, who was not yet entered, went back in despair.

Lewis this year fixed the posts for the great roads of the kingdom. The first establishment was only for the king and the princes his allies, with a prohibition

only a thousand crowns in ready money, and an annuity of two thousand livres out of the duchy of Bar.

To Jane de Laval his wife, Reignier bequeathed very large revenues in Anjou, Provence, and the Barrois. To John his natural son he gave the marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson, with the territories of St. Remi and St. Cannat in Provence. According to the custom of those times he gave a great deal to the churches, particularly to the church of St. Maurice at Angers, where he was interred, and to the Cordeliers of the same town, with whom his heart was lodged. And being more jealous of his title of king, than if he had been in possession, he ordered that his funeral should be solemnized with the pomp suitable to majesty. As he lived six years after he made his * will, he annulled several clauses of it by the treaties he made afterwards.

Lewis, to whom queen Margaret had yielded all her pretensions, complained that this princess was disinherited, a princess, who as she had nothing given with her in marriage, had likewise done nothing which could be a bar to her succession. He maintained, that she ought to have half of her mother's fortune, and even all Lorain, as Yolande by her marriage-contract with the count of Vaudemount had renounced all succession either to father or mother, except the portion which she had received. Besides the claim which the king derived from Margaret, he was creditor of the dukes John and Nicholas for upwards of a million. He had paid two hundred

* The executors appointed by Reignier to his will were queen Jane de Laval, Charles count of Maine his nephew, Reignier duke of Lorain his grandson, William de Harcourt count of Tancarville, Guy de Laval his seneschal of Anjou, John de la Vignolle dean of Angers, Dr. John Perrot his confessor, Peter le Roy his vice-chancellor, John Vinel judge of Anjou, and Tourneville archpriest of Angers.

hundred thousand crowns, whilst the affair of the marriage of his daughter Anne with Nicholas then requiſit du Pont was in debate; forty thousand crowns annually for ten years to the father and the king; fifty thousand crowns for the ransom of Margaret, and a pension of six thousand livres for her maintenance. This princess renewed this request for the cession she had made to him *Oct. 19.* ten years before.

Lewis gave orders to the archbishop of Bordeaux, Gilles Pot count of St. Pol, Francberge master of requests, Baudot and Henriet counsellors in parliament, to go into Lorain and lay all these propositions before Yolande, to whom he gave no other name than that of countess of Vaudemount. Duke Ignier her son being then at Venice, engaged the republic to recommend his interests to the king. As his majesty returned to the ambassadors of Venice, writing, the causes of complaint he had against Ignier. He first reproached him with the want of gratitude for the protection he granted him against the duke of Burgundy, and with having constantly favoured Maximilian in opposition to France. It was added, that he could not but know himself to be the king's subject; that his greatest honour was his descent from the house of France by his mother; that all his estates were held of the crown; that Lorain was not a masculine fief, as he enjoyed it only in right of his mother and grandmother; that amongst daughters there was no right of elder-ship; and that consequently Margaret ought to have an equal share with Yolande her sister; that Margaret had made a cession of all her pretensions to the king; and that he demanded her moiety in all that the duchess Yolande could possess, without reckoning in the considerable lands, for which he was creditor.

Whilst

Whilst the king was debating his claim to the succession of king Reignier, Charles de Martigny bishop of Elne was recalled from England, and cited before the parliament by the procureur-general, as having gone beyond his powers, and
July 31. signed treaties prejudicial to France.

Martigny replied in his defence, that he had been three times appointed ambassador into England without having desired it ; and in accepting the employment he had never had any thing in view but the king's service; that his majesty had seemed satisfied with his first negotiation; that the second had been still more remarkable, as he was to engage against the ministers of the emperor, Maximilian, and Spain, who had all of them a powerful party in the parliament; that he had been several times in danger of being assassinated by the Flemish; but that he had been so fortunate as to triumph over all their cabals, and retain Edward in the party of France. As to the third embassy, Martigny owned, that by his instructions he was only commissioned to prolong the treaties of truce made in the years 1475 and 1476, without any alteration; but that the king having given him to understand, that the principal object of his commission was to prevent the union of the English with the Flemish, he had judged, that according to his notion of the king's inclination, it was better to go beyond his orders, and run the risque of being disapproved, than to be wanting in the renewal of a treaty which was absolutely necessary to France; that it was with this view he had comprehended the dukes of Austria and Britany in the last truce, tho' they were not mentioned in the preceding treaties; that he had in like manner consented that the king should submit to the ecclesiastical censures, if he discontinued the payment of the fifty thousand crowns, tho' Edward refused to submit to the same penalty tho' he should violate

violate the treaty; that he had notwithstanding made all possible representations upon this subject, and had not gone beyond his powers, but to preserve the truce, which without this would have been broken; that in short, he had done every thing that could be done for the benefit of the state, and the service of the king, or that the necessity of the affair would admit.

The parliament, convinced of the innocence of the bishop of Elné, the necessity of the state, and the king's inclinations, tho' they made a great deal of noise with their procedures, passed no sentence against him. In short, Martigny was an able minister, and such a one as the king stood in need of. He had conducted himself with a fidelity and judgment, which knew how to comply with circumstances; and had done the most important service by exposing himself to be disapproved of. By this means he gave the king time to act what part he pleased, whereas if he had literally followed his instructions, the war was inevitable, and the success very doubtful.

Lewis XI. having put it in his power to disapprove of the steps taken by a minister, which in his own mind he absolutely approved, did not change his behaviour towards Edward, but paid him his pensions exactly. He conducted himself with equal judgment towards Howard and Langton the English ambassadors. The subject of their commission was the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Elizabeth. The difficulty lay only in the pension, which the English required whilst the princess continued in England. The king offered far less than was demanded; but took care always to give the ambassadors reason to hope, that they might bring him to the point they desired, that they might not make any abatement of themselves. According to his views, to gain time was to succeed. When
Martigny

Martigny was recalled from England, the duchess dowager of Burgundy, Edward's sister, went over thither to treat of a marriage between Anne the third daughter of the king her brother and Philip count of Charolois, the eldest son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. The duchess dowager had with her la Baume lord of Irlain, second chamberlain to the duke of Austria, Thomas de Pleine, and John Gros. Her proposals were equally advantageous to Edward and Maximilian. She proposed, to renounce the alliance with France, to renew the alliance which had formerly subsisted between England and the late duke Charles, to make a league offensive and defensive against France, to send troops thither to re-conquer Normandy and Guyenne in favour of Edward, whilst Maximilian recovered the provinces which Lewis had taken from him. But with all these flattering hopes, the duchess offered no ready money; and Edward, who stood constantly in need of it to gratify his pleasures, was extremely pleased with what he received from France, whereas they required of him two hundred thousand crowns for his daughter's portion. He was very much undetermined, when the lord Howard arrived in France. He immediately went to pay his compliments to the duchess of Burgundy, and told her that he had brought a fourth part of the French pension; that Lewis XI. consented to submit to ecclesiastical censure, if he failed to continue the payment of 50,000 crowns, and did not accomplish the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Elizabeth; but that he required that the dukes of Austria and Britany should not be included in the truce, and that he was resolved, rather than not hinder it, to sacrifice one half of his kingdom.

The duchess of Burgundy upon this immediately offered to Edward the same advantages which he had from France. She engaged in the name of the duke
and

and duchess of Austria to pay him the same pension of 50,000 crowns, and to begin the payment from the day he declared war against France.

The next day the contract of marriage *Aug. 4.* between the count of Charolois and the princess Anne was drawn up. They afterwards made another agreement, by which the duke and duchess of Austria gave back to Edward the portion of his daughter; and the king, that he might not be behind hand with them in generosity, or rather foreseeing that his pension would never be paid, gave it up to them. But not caring to lose that which was paid him by the king, he declared within a few days after, that he designed to be mediator between Lewis and Maximilian, and dispatched ambassadors to acquaint the king with his intentions. Whilst the duchess of Burgundy was endeavouring to stir up her brother to make war upon Lewis XI. Maximilian relying no longer upon Edward, gave a commission to the count de Romont to confer with du Lude about bringing about a truce.

It was in fact concluded for seven months, *Aug. 21.* and afterwards prolonged. The duchess of Burgundy, who received instructions from Maximilian very opposite to the scheme of a truce, was extremely offended at it; she complained of it very bitterly, and went back into Flanders.

The duke of Britany was no sooner informed of this truce, than he grew apprehensive that he should become the sole object of the king's resentment. He had entered into all the plots against his majesty, and had frequently been the author of them. He had made a league with Maximilian, and had endeavoured by all manner of ways to bring Edward into it. He had even offered to give his daughter Anne in marriage to the prince of Wales. This alliance would have been the most fatal thing in the world to the kingdom, as it would have brought the

English back again into it. The duke of Britany being too sensible how much he had offended the king, sent Partena and la Villeon into England to solicit by means of the dukes of Burgundy a renewal of the alliance with Maximilian under the guaranty of Edward; but as the dukes was gone back into Flanders before the arrival of these ambassadors, this treaty was not made till the year following.

In the mean time the cardinal of S. Pierre-aux-Liens the pope's nephew, came into France as legate to make peace between the king and the princes his neighbours. Lewis straight informed himself of the character of those, with whom he was to treat. He learnt that the legate was a man full of vanity and false glory, and by that he resolved to gain him. He ordered all imaginable honours to be paid him in the towns he passed through. Count dauphin d'Auvergne, the bastard of Maine, Chateau-villain, Dauvet and several prelates went to meet him as far as S. Saphorin d'Oson. Dauvet delivered him most ample powers, and gained him absolutely by a circumstance, which under the appearance of a precaution, was in reality no other than a flattering distinction shewn to his person. He required an act, by which the legate declared, that he would not abuse the fulness of his powers, and that the honours paid him should not be drawn into a precedent for the legates that should thereafter be sent into France.

The legate spent some days with the king at Vendôme, and was charmed with the confidence wherewith his majesty honoured him. From thence he

went to Paris, where he was received
Sept. 4. with the highest honours. The parliament profusely bestowed upon him all the regards that were consistent with the laws and maxims of the kingdom; but not thinking the act, which the cardinal had given to Dauvet, either sufficient or suitable to the majesty of the king, the day
 after

after the legate's entry, the king's friends opposed the reading of the bull, by which the pope gave him power to compel the king and Maximilian to make peace by censure or excommunication.

The legate wrote to Maximilian, that the pope earnestly desired to restore peace among christian princes, in order to unite them against the Turks ; that the king was very much disposed to it ; that he questioned not but his excellency was in the same sentiments ; and that he was coming to him to finish an affair so sacred, and so advantageous to all christendom.

The strict alliance there appeared to be between the king and the legate rendered the latter suspected by Maximilian. He replied, that the affair was a matter of too much importance for him to come to any resolution about it without the advice of his council, and that he besought his paternity not to proceed any farther in his journey, till he had heard from him again.

The legate wrote back word to Maximilian, that he never had any design to enter into his dominions without his approbation ; but that he intreated his excellency to have some regard to the honour of the holy see ; that the affairs he came upon did not regard the person of the pope, but were such as all christendom was concerned in, and that it did not consist with the dignity, wherewith he was invested, to attend too long the resolution of his excellency.

The legate being advanced as far as Peronne, at the same time dispatched the archbishop of Rhodes and Octavien Suesla the consistorial advocate, to press the decision of Maximilian. His highness sent the letter and instructions of the legate's two deputies to Dauffay and Lannoy, that they might go and confer with the legate. But Dauffay let him know, that the legate might pass farther, and that it would be necessary either to notify to him the

causes of the suspicion they had of him, or to advertise him of an act of appeal by the

Oct. 5. duke's attorney-general. The legate a few days after sent Maximilian a brief, by which the pope represented to his highness, that the prejudice he had conceived was altogether groundless; that the cardinal was no more inclined to favour the king than himself; and that he had no other view but the publick good. For which reason he begged the duke to engage *his nobility* to reject all those suspicions, and to give the legate a favourable audience. To this brief the cardinal added a letter, wherein he repeated what he had already said in his former letters, and demanded a positive answer. The legate receiving no answer, and not knowing what course to take, wrote again once more, and sent his letter by the archbishop of Rhodes, in whom he placed the utmost confidence.

Maximilian's prevention arose from the cardinal-bishop of Tournay, and the bishop of Sebenigo the pope's nuncio, who were resident in his court, and perpetually representing the legate to him as an artful man, devoted to France; and they farther drew the archbishop of Rhodes into their party. This prelate was raised from a very low extraction to dignities, which are seldom obtained by persons of obscure birth, unless by great virtues or great vices. Avaritious, crafty, covetous, he had all the mean vices, as also the ingratitude, which is the consequence of them. He owed his fortune to the legate, to whom he was attached by interest, and out of the same motive betrayed him.

The king, being always first informed
Oct. 25. of what passed amongst his enemies, advertised the legate, that the archbishop of Rhodes had suffered himself to be gained over by the cardinal of Tournay and Sebenigo, and that if
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he did not obtain a positive answer, he had no other course to take than to retire, but that it would be first adviseable to declare to the Gantois, that his legation had nothing in view but peace; that if they could once sow division between those people and the duke's council, they would easily take fire; but that above all it was necessary for the pope to recall the bishop of Sebenigo, and to cite the cardinal of Tournay and the archbishop of Rhodes to Rome, to take their trial; and that this was the only means of making the authority of the holy see to be revered and feared.

The legate answered the king, that he had been before hand with his advice, *OE. 28.* that the bull had been notified at Ghent, Bruges, and all the towns in Flanders; that he was farther going to write to them and lay before them the ills which their disobedience to the holy see would bring upon them, and that if they persisted in it, he would retire; that the pope would take care of the cardinal of Tournay and the nuncio; and as to the archbishop of Rhodes, he thought it necessary to secure him, and carry him to Château-neuf near Avignon. The king having charged du Bouchage with the execution, the archbishop was carried off, and conveyed to Château-neuf.

In the mean time Baudricourt, Soliers, and du Bouchage, were upon the frontiers, and labouring either to make peace, or prolong the truce. The duchess dowager of Burgundy, who held intelligence with the ambassadors of Maximilian, raised every day fresh difficulties, either thro' her naturally restless indisposition, or a desire to make herself necessary. The negotiation was entered upon by the plenipotentiaries, but their mutual distrust was a continual obstacle to the peace. They disputed upon every article without coming to an *éclaircissement*. The character of ambassador seemed to be

no safeguard, they did not venture to go to one another's houses, without giving hostages. The rest of the year was spent rather in disputes than conferences.

The king had declared he would not put into compromise what the dukes of Burgundy had held in appenage; that if daughters might inherit it, they might also inherit the crown, which is contrary to the fundamental law of the state; that the cession of Burgundy made by king John to duke Philip the bold, was null, and that the parliament of the kingdom was the sole judge of all that concerns the peerages.

Maximilian on the contrary pretended, that before all things they ought to restore to him the ancient patrimony of the dukes of Burgundy, and that the king could not refuse to put him into possession of the counties of Artois and Burgundy, the viscounty of Aulnoye, and the jurisdiction of S. Laurent, without which he should be compelled to it by the king of England.

Lewis on his side demanded Lisle, Douay, and Orchies, with all that duke Charles and Mary had taken away from the county of Artois, a fief of the crown, for which they had never done homage. The king after having made good his claim, offered to give up Lisle, Douay, and Orchies, and to give an acquittance for all that was due by the succession of the dukes of Burgundy, provided the duke and duchess of Austria would renounce all pretensions to the counties of Artois and Burgundy.

Edward finding that the king and the duke of Austria agreed in nothing, wrote to Maximilian, that as the king could not live long, the best scheme they could follow would be to wait till his death to make good their pretensions, and in the mean time to conclude a treaty, which if Lewis should refuse,
the

he English would send against him a supply of five thousand men.

It was true, that the king's health daily declined ; he frequently fell into fainting fits, which made those about him apprehensive for his life. He had one so considerable as he was rising from table, that it was judged he was going to die. He was not able to speak, and his senses were very imperfect. In the mean time he made a sign for them to open the windows, and give him air ; but whether they did not understand him, or thought the air prejudicial to him, they kept him near the fire with the windows shut. Angelo Catto his physician, who was afterwards archbishop of Vienna, and to whom Commines dedicated his memoirs, coming into the room, ordered them to be opened. The king by degrees recovered both his sense and speech ; though it was some time before he could make them perfectly understand what he said. He constantly obliged them to give an account of what had passed during his illness ; but finding himself, that his head was not absolutely clear, and being afraid to make his case known, he pretended to read and understand, and contented himself with answering only a few words, or making signs, which he could afterwards explain as he thought fit. He informed himself who they were that had hindered the windows from being opened, and forbid them the court. He was so jealous of his authority, that he expected a blind obedience, without any one's presuming to interpret his will. He was afraid lest by declining to obey him in trifles, under pretence of serving him better, they should seize upon his authority. He was even accustomed to say, that he disapproved of the force used to make his father eat, when he was afraid of being poisoned.

The legate laid hold of the fear the king had of dying, to obtain the liberty of cardinal Balue and the

bishop of Verdun. He persuaded him that the judgments of God would fall upon him for keeping a cardinal and a bishop in chains. Balue, to move the king still more to compassion, pretended to be dangerously ill. Coittier the king's chief physician had orders to visit him, and upon his saying that he could not live long, the king ordered him to be given up into the hands of the legate, after having obtained a promise from him, that the pope should punish him. But Balue was scarce got to Rome, before he received a considerable addition of honours. After the death of Lewis XI. he returned into France under the character of legate, and was received notwithstanding the prohibition of the parliament.

As to the bishop of Verdun, he was set at liberty upon giving bail, and was translated from the bishoprick of Verdun to that of Vintimille. Lewis also restored Hebert bishop of Coutance to his liberty. This prelate was concerned in the charge against the duke of Bourbon, and accused of astrology. He was confined as a criminal, and released as a fool. This last judgment suited better than the former with the kind of accusation, that was laid against him.

Lewis re-united the duchy of Anjou *October.* to the crown, and kept up the chamber of accounts established at Angers. At the same time he wrote to the states of Provence in favour of Charles duke of Calabria, to whom Reignier had bequeathed by will the kingdom of Naples and county of Provence. Lewis was apprehensive that Reignier duke of Lorain, the grandson of king Reignier by his mother, should dispute the will. But whether the Provincials were better pleased with Charles, or that they had a mind to oblige the king, 'tis certain they absolutely excluded Reignier, and acknowledged Charles for their sovereign.

Though

Though the truce was not expired, the count de Chimay, Bossu and Croy, laid siege to Luxembourg. Notwithstanding this infraction the king made no reprisals, but gave orders to du Bouchage to prolong the truce for the whole time that the Turk should continue in Italy, *that*, added he, *I may the better serve God and our lady against the Turk.*

The king's power was not so thoroughly settled in Franche-comté, but that there were frequent insurrections of rebels, who surprised little towns, which were soon after recovered, insomuch that what passed in that province very much resembled a civil war.

Lewis appointed John and Lewis d'Amboise lieutenants general of Burgundy, one of them bishop of Maillezais, and the other of Albi, to command in the absence of Charles d'Amboise their brother.

The states of the Comté assembled at Salins, presented certain articles to these two prelates, principally tending to the maintenance of the laws and the support of military discipline; to the security of the roads, tillage and commerce. They also demanded the establishment of a parliament at Salins, whereof the officers should be payed at the king's expence, and again claimed the preservation of their privileges.

The king's policy agreed very well with the demands of the Comtois; he had no inclination to give any disquietude to the countries he had conquered, or which had voluntarily submitted to him. Instead of depriving them of their privileges, he granted them new ones, and omitted nothing to inspire them with fidelity; but where he found the spirit of rebellion too obstinate, he had recourse to violent remedies. He put the most guilty to death, banished the rest, and sometimes dispersed the inhabitants, as he did at Perpignan and Arras.

He therefore established a parliament at Salins, and the next year published a declaration, which exempted the Comtois from escheatage, and put them upon the same footing with other Frenchmen. Neither the indispositions to which his majesty was subject, nor his engagement in foreign affairs, prevented him from watching over the tranquillity and happiness of his subjects at home with the same assiduity and care, as tho' he had had no other object in view.

He sent commissioners into the countries to redress the frauds, which were committed in the customs. He suffered not any disturbance to be given to the gentlemen, who valued the estates they held in fofage. He published a declaration, by which he permitted all clergymen, gentlemen and others, to traffick both by land and sea, upon condition that those who traded by sea should import their merchandize only in French vessels. He set up a mint at Dijon; under the direction of John de Cambray. Perruchon, Feriot, and Cusiel, were appointed keepers of it.

The king having called in a great number of workmen in order to settle a manufactory of gold and silver stuffs and silks, under the direction of William Briçonnet, ordered that both they and their wives, widows, and children, should be exempt from all duties, taxes, and imposts. And the year after he granted a letter of naturalization to all the Switzers, that should come and settle in France. The duke of Austria had solicited a meeting of several princes of the empire, in hopes that they would be favourable to him in the decision of the differences he had with the king, but his majesty refused to submit to the arbitration of foreigners in a dispute betwixt him and his vassal concerning fiefs of the crown. He found a much surer way of embarrassing

barrassing Maximilian, and even of rekindling the war in Germany, if he judged it convenient.

Ladislaus king of Bohemia, grandson by his mother to the emperor Albert of Austria, and great-grandson to the emperor Sigismund, had some pretensions to the duchy of Luxembourg. To put himself into a condition to make them good, he sought the friendship of Lewis XI. The two princes renewed the old alliances, and made besides a particular treaty, by which Ladislaus was to enter with all his forces into Luxembourg; and the king obliged himself at the same time to send thither a thousand lances with a train of artillery. If the duchy was not conquered within a month, the king was to pay the troops of Bohemia during the rest of the war, and to make neither peace nor truce with Maximilian, without comprehending Ladislaus in it. The ambassadors promised in their master's name to assist the king against all persons whatsoever, and particularly against the duke and duchess of Austria. Whilst the king was employed in forming alliances, he lost one of his most faithful subjects by the death of Charles de Chaumont d'Amboise count of Brienne, governor of Champagne and Burgundy. His birth and large fortune rendered him less valuable than his virtue. No person was more proper than himself to preside over a people lately conquered. Firm, humane, prudent, and disinterested, he both set an example of fidelity himself, and knew how to chastise those who deviated from it.

The king's bad health not allowing him to put himself at the head of an army according to his promise, and to march in person to drive the Turks out of Italy, he made an offer to the pope of three hundred thousand crowns in gold for that enterprise,

1481.

Easter

April 2.

Jan. 1.

prize, whereof two hundred thousand were to be raised upon the clergy, and the rest upon the people.

About this time there arose a dispute at Rome, that was troublesome enough. Charles count of Provence sent to demand the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Charles of Luxembourg the cousin of Charles, and head of the embassy, claimed to be received as the ambassador of a crowned head; and the ambassadors of France supported his pretension. The pope and cardinals durst not comply with their demands, for fear of offending Ferdinand, and kindling a fresh war in Italy. The contestation lasted a considerable time. At length Luxembourg accompanied by the French made his entry, and took his audience with the honours he pretended to; at least the pope did not openly explain himself, and there was no formal opposition made to it.

Sixtus having published a bull, by which he excommunicated all the princes in Christendom to a suspension of arms for three years to unite against their common enemy the Turk; this bull was presented to the king by the bishop of Sessa, who greatly insisted upon the danger, to which all Christendom was exposed. The king after he had caused the bull to be examined by all that were present, as *April 29.* well prelates as seculars, told the nuncio, he could not too much commend the zeal, which the holy father expressed for religion; that for his part he was ready to employ all his forces upon the occasion; but that he was willing to be sure that his enemies also would do the same, nor was it reasonable that he should disarm, till he knew their intentions. The legate answered, that the pope would compel all his majesty's enemies either to make peace or a truce with him by ecclesiastical censures. The same day the lord of Beaujeu, the chancellor, and the principal persons present at the audience, attended upon the legate by his majesty's order,

order, and let him know, that his majesty was threatened with two wars, the one from England, and the other from the king of Castile, without reckoning that wherein he was actually engaged against the duke of Austria; that the late duke Charles, Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, had always despised ecclesiastical censures; and therefore, as the king chose not to expose himself to be surprized by his enemies, it was necessary that the legate should communicate his intentions to all the nuncios residing with those princes, to know their final resolution.

The legate returned thanks to his majesty for his good inclinations, which he highly commended, and promised to send an account of them to the pope, that his holiness might himself give order to his nuncios to confer with the other princes, and acquaint his majesty with their dispositions.

How dangerous soever the designs of her enemies were to France, they would have been still more so by the death of Lewis XI. Maximilian, seeing the truce ready to expire, solicited Edward to attempt the conquest of France; and possibly might have succeeded in his project, if the king of England had been less fond of repose, or if Maximilian had supported his solicitations with certain sums of money. Edward did not absolutely reject Maximilian's proposal, but let him know, that as the king could not live long, his death would furnish them with a favourable opportunity of executing any design. The duke of Britany was more disposed than Edward to enter into a league with Maximilian against the king; he had even made the overture himself, but durst not singly engage in it; for which reason he dispatched Partenay and la Villeon to London to act in concert with Maximilian's ambassadors, and pressed Edward to declare against France.

Edward,

Edward, either through policy, or his natural want of resolution, kept the duke of Austria's ambassadors long in suspense. At last however he gave them such hopes, that they sent word to their master, that the king of England had promised them to make a descent in France, provided the affairs of Scotland would give him leave; and that he had even presented a declaration to the king of France, that unless he gave satisfaction to the duke and duchess of Austria before the Easter following, he would enter his dominions with fire and sword.

The ambassadors without doubt exaggerated the promises of Edward, or else the latter deceived them, for he had no inclination to engage in a war. 'Twas in vain that Maximilian represented the truce to be as burthensome to him as a war, from his being obliged to keep up the same number of troops, that he was stripped of part of his dominions, and not in a condition to subsist his adherents. Whatever exposed the indigence of Maximilian was an improper argument to gain over Edward, who being passionately addicted to indolence, pleasure, and profit, was absolutely averse to enter into a league with an indolent prince, and to give up a considerable pension paid him by France, only to engage in a dangerous war against a prince, both formidable by his forces and his councils. 'Tis highly probable, that Hastings the favourite of Edward and pensioner to Lewis XI. did not a little contribute to render all the solicitations of Maximilian and the duke of Britany ineffectual. Thus we see by the accounts of the king's expences, that Hastings about this time received a present of a thousand marks besides his usual pension. When the duke of Austria could not draw Edward into a war against the king, he engaged his father the emperor Frederick to propose an accommodation with his majesty.

At

At the same time, as Frederick's ambassadors came into France to treat of a peace, there came others also from Matthias Corvin king of Hungary, to propose to his majesty a league against the Turks.

Lewis sent Armand de Cambray as far as Metz to meet the ambassadors, under a pretence of shewing them the greater honour, but in reality to get out of them the secret of their instructions before their arrival. Cambray was a very proper person for this commission. He had followed several employments, like those who have nothing but fortune in view, and who think all ways of obtaining it equally indifferent, and was accounted the most dextrous in forgery of any man in his time. It was he, who contrived the bulls in the name of Calixtus III. which allowed the count of Armagnac to marry his sister. His talents being too well known at Rome to be any longer of service to him in that court, he resolved to come into France to exercise them there. As the king, according to his different views, employed all sorts of people, he received Cambray favourably enough, and gave him a commission to confer with the ministers of the emperor and the king of Hungary.

Matthias Corvin had passed from a prison to the throne; instructed by adversity, he thereby became more deserving of a crown; in learning to suffer he learnt also to compassionate and relieve the unfortunate; by being a protector of literature, which renders heroes immortal, he encouraged authors to write by his generosity, and employed them by his actions. His life was a continued series of victories. He had kept his ground against the united forces of Poland and Bohemia; had triumphed over the emperor Frederick III. and gained such advantages over Mahomet II. the terror of the christians, as lead him to form the project for over-
turning

turning the Ottoman empire. And willing to divide the glory of the enterprize with Lewis XI. he proposed to him to join their forces. But Lewis enfeebled by diseases, always diffident of the event of arms, and desirous of settling peace in his own kingdom, declined to engage in a foreign war.

The ambassadors of Frederick flattered themselves with greater success in their negotiation, and imagined that the name of the emperor would impose upon the king; but it was not long before they understood, that tho' his majesty desired peace, he resolved to be master of the conditions; and thus they returned without concluding any thing.

Maximilian finding, that he could not absolutely engage Edward in the war, and that the emperor's attempts upon the king had proved ineffectual, was himself obliged to desire a prolongation of the truce; notwithstanding which there passed some acts of hostility, either thro' want of sincerity, or the licentiousness which a long war and troops ill payd usually carry with them.

Before the truce was signed Lewis had *April.* already given orders to take the field. He had raised a body of six thousand Switzers in the place of the Frank-archers, whom he had broke; every parish was to pay four livres ten sols a month instead of supplying a Frank-archer. The gentlemen pensioners were all summoned, and such as were unwilling to serve according to the proclamation, were excused for the payment of a certain sum. As soon as the truce was prolonged, the king remitted the sums the gentlemen were to pay for their non-attendance, and gave back to all his subjects the taxes raised for the support of the artillery.

The whole advantage, that Maximilian gained from his intrigues was a defensive league with the duke

duke of Britany againſt the king. The duke engaged to ſupply Maximilian *Ap. 16.* with ſix thouſand archers, and to pay two thouſand of them for four months, and in caſe the king ſhould dye, to attempt to recover from his ſucceſſors whatever had been taken away from the duke and duchefs of Auſtria. By this treaty we learn, how valuable the king's life muſt have been to France.

The duke of Britany made alſo a treaty with Edward of far more dan- *May 10.* gerous conſequence to the kingdom.

They ſigned a contract of marriage between the prince of Wales and Anne the eldeſt daughter and heir of the duke of Britany. If Anne dyed before ſhe was married, the prince of Wales was to marry Iſabell the younger ſiſter, or any other daughter that the duke ſhould then have; as Anne or Iſabell was to marry the ſecond ſon of Edward, in caſe the prince of Wales ſhould dye before the marriage was conſummated. Britany could not be united to England; but if the prince of Wales had ſeveral children, the eldeſt was to be king of England, and the ſecond duke of Britany, he was to bear the arms and the title, and conſtantly to reſide there. The duke renounced every other alliance, and engaged to enter into no other without Edward's conſent.

In the mean time his majeſty being informed that Reignier duke of Lorain was attempting to enter into Provence by means of the Venetians, gave orders that a ſtriſt enquiry ſhould be made after all ſuch as might carry on buſineſs in Provence, and that neither Lorainers, Germans, nor Venetians ſhould be ſuffered to paſs into it for fear of ſurprize.

The affair which at this time more particularly engaged his majeſty's attention, was the ſupport of his claim to the duchy of Bar and Lorain. There
had

had been considerable conferences at Barle-Duc between the king's commissioners and those of Yolande, and Reignier of Lorain, without being able to come to any agreement. Lewis did not care that the emperor should have cognisance of this affair, and proposed to require arbitrators of the pope, or any other prince whom the parties should agree upon.

The king was always careful to observe the forms of law, not so much with a view to subject himself to them, as to give a greater degree of authority to his pretensions. He ordered the conveyance which queen Margaret had made him of all her right to Lorain to be carefully examined by the most able lawyers in Paris and Mentz, in order to have it drawn up in the best form imaginable, in case they found any defect in what she had done. It was farther enquired, whether the demand ought to be made in the king's name, or in the name of queen Margaret. And it was resolved, that the action should be brought in his own name, lest upon the intervening death of Margaret it should be necessary to begin the whole proceeding afresh.

Lewis next proposed to his council to consider, whether it would not be adviseable for him to alter his sign manual, which he said was counterfeited by the duke of Austria. The council were of opinion, that it ought not to be altered, for fear of giving offence to such as already had letters patents, treaties, grants or notes, and who might be apprehensive that these titles would hereafter be called in question; besides the new signature was as capable of being counterfeited as the former, if that indeed had been really counterfeited. At the same time it was ordered, that the king should sign nothing either relating to the finances or otherwise, which should not be counter-signed by a secretary, without which it should be of no effect; that a seal made on pur-
pose

pose might farther be added to it ; and that the secretaries should have a salary, that they might take nothing for their discharges.

At this time there prevailed a controversy equally serious and frivolous, which had sprung up in the schools, and made a considerable noise in the world. It was the dispute between the Nominalists and the Realists. This contest was carried on with the greater warmth, as neither side well understood the meaning of each other. Each party thought, or would have had others think, that religion was concerned in the dispute, and injured by their adversaries. The bishop of Avranches, the king's confessor, was a Realist, and procured them a countenance which they abused against the Nominalists. And these on the other hand raised to themselves a kind of reputation from being on the persecuted side. The king, who by his confessor's persuasion had at first declared for the Realists, and had caused the books of the Nominalists to be nailed down and chained in the libraries, upon finding that he could not this way restore peace, ordered them this year to be unchained. This dispute vanished like several others, which end in contempt, when supported only by passion and ignorance.

Lewis this year confirmed the privileges and statutes of the university, which he had founded at Caen. He removed that of Dole to Besancon, and granted the inhabitants of that city all the privileges enjoyed by the Parisians, in consideration of their having put themselves under his protection.

The states of Languedoc having granted the king one hundred and fourscore and eight thousand livres, upon condition that the tax should be laid indifferently upon all persons, whether privileged or not, his majesty exempted from it the clergy who lived clerically, and the gentry who lived nobly, that is, such as were in the service, or who by their age or

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ill health were incapable of serving any longer. He did not look upon any persons as gentlemen, nor even as citizens, who were useless to the society.

The more his health decayed, the more he took pains to engage mankind to talk of him ; and as if the common business of the kingdom had not been sufficient to employ him, he was continually contriving new means to draw the attention of the publick upon him. He departed from Tours in the beginning of summer, and made a progress thro' la Beauce ; from thence he went into Normandy to review a camp of ten thousand men, which reached from Pont de l'Arche to Pont S. Pierre. The soldiers were intrenched, and kept as strict a guard, as tho' they were in sight of the enemy. Here the king continued seven days, and by the expence of this camp would estimate how much it would cost him to keep up an equal or a superior army ; he strove to make it believed that he had great designs in view, and that he was in a condition to execute them.

Lewis returning to Tours went with *July 13.* the queen to pay his devotions at the tomb of S. Martin. These devotions he continued for seven days, and every day gave one and thirty crowns in gold, which was his usual offering, when he visited a church, or heard mass with the queen. On the feast of the assumption his offering was thrice as many crowns, as he was years old.

The desire he had to exercise his authority made him turn out the procureur-general St. Romain, and advance Michael de Pons to his office. St. Romain's crime was the opposition he made in the affair of the pragmatick sanction, and in others, where his duty and the welfare of the state were concerned.

At

At the same time by the advice of Doyac governor of Auvergne, the king ordered the * *grands jours* to be held in that province, to judge the several causes belonging to Auvergne, the Bourbonnois, the Nivernois, Forêt, Beaujolois, Lyonnais, and la Marche. Doyac's design was under this pretext to revenge the particular injuries, which he pretended he had received.

Doyac was one of those persons, upon whom fortune exercises the extravagance of her caprices. From an obscure original he made his way into the world by the dint of impudence. He attempted to signalize himself by attacking the servants and even the person of the duke of Bourbon. Neither the duke's high birth, nor his virtue, nor the services he had done to the state could secure him from calumny; or rather these very accomplishments gave encouragement to the assurance of Doyac. He had taken notice of the king's jealousy against all the great men, and observed that considerable services had sometimes rather raised his suspicions than his acknowledgment. Notwithstanding all the devices of Doyac, the duke of Bourbon was acquitted of the imputations laid to his charge; but his enemy, tho' too vile even to bear that name, escaped with impunity. He became one of the king's favourites. His majesty chose sometimes to make use of persons of no rank, whom he could employ at pleasure, or lay aside without hazard, the instruments of caprice and injustice, who bear the weight of the publick hatred, and are sacrificed to it without consequence.

Doyac

* The *grands jours* were a sort of assises or solemnities, which were held from time to time by the king's commission, in the provinces the most remote from parliaments. The object of the *grands jours* was an enquiry into the abuses, which might have escaped the notice of the parliament.

Doyac was made governor of Auvergne, and tyrannized over those who ought to have been his masters. The contempt they had for his person made them frequently forget the respect that was due to his place; and his insolence drew upon him such reproaches, as must have made him recollect himself, if those who once forget themselves were capable of recollection.

As he could neither make himself esteemed or respected, he strove to make himself feared, and to this end advised the holding of the *grands*
Sept. 3. jours. They were opened at Montfer-
 rand, the count de Montpensier a prince
 of the blood, * Matthew de Nanterre, two masters
 of the requests, several counsellors, and Doyac, be-
 ing appointed his majesty's commissioners.

After the discussion of several points, a decree was given for the reparation of the wrongs done to Doyac by the injurious speeches, which had been uttered against him; but the honour is already lost, which stands in need of being repaired; Doyac was not at all the more respected, but was far more hated. After the death of Lewis XI. being convicted of having been an accomplice in the crime for which Dain was hanged, he was sentenced to lose his ears, was whipt at Paris, then at Montferrand, the place of his birth and theatre of his pride, that those who had been the victims of his insolence might be also
 the

* Matthew de Nanterre descended from an antient family, which derived its name from the village of Nanterre, was premier president of the parliament at Paris. In 1465 the king made an exchange of places between two persons of sufficient merit to deserve any post whatsoever. He gave that of Matthew to John Dauvet premier president of Toulouse, and that of Dauvet to Matthew de Nanterre. This gentleman was afterwards recalled to Paris, and accepted the place of second president without scruple, as judging that the dignity of places depends wholly upon the virtue of those who fill them.

the witnesses of his disgrace, and then was banished the kingdom. His life was probably pardoned, that he might remain a living monument of infamy. He afterwards found means to recover his estate, in consideration of his having conveyed the artillery of Charles VIII. into Italy.

The affair of Reignier d'Alençon count of Perche made a still greater noise than the *grands jours* of Auvergne. This unhappy prince had no other crime than that of being the son of an offending father. He had been brought up in the court, and had always continued faithful to his majesty. He was one of his followers in the war for the publick good, though his father had privately favoured the opposite party. The duke of Alençon passing afterwards into Britany, the count of Perche had no share in his revolt, but gave up Alençon to the king. And yet though he had never swerved in the least from his duty, he was included in the pardon granted to his father. This he complained of as an injury, without foreseeing that it would be one day prejudicial to him.

Under pretence that the count's domesticks had committed certain faults, they took away his pensions, and kept back part of the lands, which ought to have been restored to him, and sought to vex him upon every occasion. The count highly complained of it, and charged John Daillon, count du Lude, with doing him ill offices with the king.

Du Lude is represented by Commynes, Gaguin, and others, as a man who wanted integrity, and too wavering in his disposition. Having his fortune solely in view, he had frequently changed sides, and never adhered to any party but through interest. He was restored to the king's favour merely through his majesty's easiness in passing over offences, though he did not always punish with justice. What motive du Lude had to disserve the count of Perche we

do not know, unless he hoped for some confiscation; *July 10.* however he took upon himself the office of laying him under an arrest, and carried him to Chinon.

The count was shut up in an iron cage for three months, without receiving any victuals but through the grate. The chancellor Doriole, du Lude, John des Poteaux president in the parliament of Burgundy, counsellor Baudot, and Falaiseau lieutenant of the Bailly of Touraine, were commissioned to proceed against him.

The crime whereof they accused the count of Perche was an attempt to retire into Britany. He owned the charge, and said that the fear of losing his life or liberty had induced him to think of it. The commissioners being rather parties against him than judges, took pains to find out something criminal in his conduct. They took into custody John bastard of Alençon, Jane of Alençon the count's natural sister, and wife to the lord of St. Quintin, John Sahur, and Macé de la Bessiere a servant of the count, and examined them all strictly in hopes of finding something against him.

Jane of Alençon deposed, that la Bessiere had told her, that if the king died, the princes and lords would all be divided into parties, and that the count of Perche would join with the dukes of Orleans and Britany. La Bessiere denied this discourse, and persisted in the denial, tho' put to the question for a crime as trifling, as ill supported. Sahur, instead of accusing the count, said that he had always heard him blame the rebellion of the duke of Britany.

The bastard of Alençon alone declared himself culpable by his disposition. He owned that he had said to the count of Perche, that if he had the king by himself in a forest, he would stab him to the heart, and that the count had very much blamed him

him for talking in such a manner. The count replied, that he did not recollect he had heard any such discourse. But though this deposition was absolutely to the advantage of the count, they attempted to turn every thing that had been said to his prejudice. So that his highness observing the cunning and partiality of the commissioners, pleaded the rights of his birth and peerage, and after a long series of persecutions was given up into the hands of the parliament.

He was then brought to his trial with all the order and formality that was requisite. The parliament desirous either to punish him if guilty, or absolve him if innocent, applied to the king upon the count's demanding to be tried by his peers. The king declared that by the grant of pardon the count of Perche had renounced all the privileges of peerage, in case he became a criminal. And thus by accusing him unjustly, they farther abused a pardon, which he had never stood in need of.

The trial was drawn out into length, and not ended till the year after, on the twenty-second of March 1482. The parliament not caring to offend the king, lest he should nominate other judges, and unwilling to condemn an innocent person, declared, *that the count of Perche having been made and detained a prisoner upon good and just cause for the faults and acts of disobedience by him committed against the king, should ask his majesty's mercy and forgiveness, and should solemnly promise and swear well and truly for the future to serve and obey his majesty against all persons whatsoever; that he should neither directly nor indirectly compass anything contrary to the king, or his kingdom, under pain of being deprived of all honours, privileges and prerogatives whatsoever, and other legal penalties; and that he should give his majesty good security and caution, that he would make good and fulfil all the said engagements, and that till they were so fulfilled he should still be detained in prison; and farther for a greater security his*

majesty should of his own authority put guards and officers into the places and castles, which were in the possession of the said Reignier of Alençon at the time he was first imprisoned.

As soon as the duke of Britany heard that the count of Perche was taken into custody for an attempt to retire into Britany, he made no question but the king would soon fall upon himself. He knew that his majesty was well informed of the treaty he had made with the duke of Austria, and of the project of marriage between the princess Anne and the prince of Wales. Under these circum-

October. stances he engaged Maximilian to let the king know by an herald, that if he carried the war into Britany, it would be a breach of the truce. At the same time he sent Coetquen his grand maître-d'hôtel and Blanchet his secretary, to give an answer to all the king's demands.

The ambassadors brought with them
Dec. 1. a letter, wherein the duke of Britany acknowledged his majesty's rights, desired a delay of two years for paying the homage of Chantocé, besought him to restore the plate, which had been seized at Pont de Cé, and to grant him the salt-chamber of Montfort, with free passage for his wine. Coetquen's discourse was a bare repetition of the duke's letter. Blanchet then spoke of the matters in dispute, desired the king would nominate commissioners to fix the limits of the two estates, and restrain the proceedings of the officers of justice on both sides.

His majesty ordered the ambassadors to wait for his answer at the cardinal of Albi's. Two hours after Picard bailly of Rouen came to tell them in his majesty's name, that he had given order to restore the duke of Britany his plate, though it had been justly confiscated; and that his majesty being resolved to do justice to his subjects, expected the
duke

duke would do the same to his own. The cardinal of Albi then complained, that the duke of Britany had charged the king with having entered into a treaty with the bastard of Britany for the surrendry of the town and castle of Nantes. This fact the ambassadors formally denied. Coetquen then desired to see the king, but was told that the business his majesty was at that time engaged in would not permit it.

The next morning Esplanville the king's maître-d'hôtel waited upon the ambassadors, and told them, that his majesty granted the duke the salt-chamber of Montfort, and free passage for his wine; and that as to the homage of Chantocé, his majesty would send a proxy to receive it. Coetquen again desired that he might have leave to see the king, and being refused, immediately set forward on his journey.

The king's health sensibly decayed, and made all about him apprehensive of his death; 'tis said, that he was subject to the epilepsy. After a violent fit, which he had at Tours, and for which Commynes and du Bouchage paid his vows to St. Claude, he every month made a constant offering of an hundred and twenty crowns in gold to that abbey.

His majesty being perpetually weak and faint, presumed not to shew himself in publick; or if at any time he was obliged to it, he affected to appear magnificently dressed, by that means hoping to conceal his condition. The fear of death notwithstanding gained the ascendant over his fear of appearing sick. He ordered publick prayers to be put up for his health, at a time when to conceal his weakness he underwent greater bodily labour, than his strength would admit of.

The late harvests had been very bad by means of the rains and inundations. The little river of Bievre had suddenly swelled to so great a degree, as almost entirely to destroy the Fauxbourg St. Mar-

cel, and carry off two or three thousand persons. The ravages made by the Loire were no less terrible. The king exempted from taxes for several years the greater sufferers, and apprehending that famine might be the consequence of so many misfortunes, prohibited all exportation of corn and wine, caused the store-houses to be opened, and the markets to be supplied.

Lewis in fine saw the last prince of the
Dec. 11. second house of Anjou expire in the person of Charles count of Provence. Of the three branches formed by the three brothers of king Charles V. there was left only the count of Nevers, who was very old, and had only daughters. Charles count of Provence was the son of Charles count of Maine, brother to the late queen the king's mother. He was first called count of Guise, afterwards duke of Calabria, and at last count of Provence. Having no children, he sought to secure the tranquillity of the province by uniting it to the crown by will. He constituted Lewis XI. his universal heir, and after him the kings his successors, beseeching his majesty to deal kindly with his subjects of Provence, and support them in the preservation of their laws and privileges. He gave several legacies to his natural brother Lewis of Anjou, and left the viscounty of Martigues to Francis of Luxembourg his cousin german. He was interred in the metropolitan church of Aix, to which he bequeathed two thousand crowns in gold.

Lewis was so speedily informed of the death of the count de Provence, that within eight days after, Palamède de Fourbin was nominated to take possession of that county, with the fullest powers, such as Lewis usually gave, when he desired a prompt expedition. The duke of Lorain thought this an advantageous opportunity to raise an insurrection in
 Provence,

Provence, but the malecontents were soon dispersed by the vigilance of Fourbin. Francis of Luxembourg is said to have had a share in the plot; but to remove all suspicion he gave up the viscounty of Martigues, which Charles had devised to him, and the king immediately granted it to Fourbin. This territory, however, has since been returned to the house of Luxembourg.

Lewis applying almost solely to solid projects, which he was sure to execute, dropt the pretensions which Charles left him to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. As he was convinced, that distant wars were always fatal to a state, and that the proper increase of a kingdom was by acquisitions in the adjoining neighbourhood, he gave himself no farther concern in the affairs of Italy, than the glory of himself and his allies required.

The states of Italy were all divided and armed against each other, when the fear of the Turk obliged them to think of their defence against the common enemy. The terror of the Ottoman arms, the victories of Mahomet II. and the conquest of Otrantum, exposed all Italy to danger, if death had not put a stop to the conqueror's designs. Alphonfus, son to the king of Naples, then undertook to drive the Turks out of Italy, and laid siege to Otrantum. The enterprize was bold, the place defended by five thousand Janissaries accustomed to conquer, the siege long and terrible, the assault and defence equally vigorous, and the sallies frequent and bloody. The Basha Achmet attempted by all possible means to succour the place. Alphonfus lost before it the choice of his *Sept. 30.* infantry, but made himself master of the town. There were no more than 2000 Janissaries left alive, who made their escape, as not daring to trust to a capitulation after the cruelties they had committed. Italy, France, and all Christen-

dom had a share in that happy event.
Aug. 28. Alphonfus king of Portugal died this year in the castle of Cintra. After having been the terror of the Moors in Africa, he suffered all the disgraces of war in Europe. His misfortunes succeeding his prosperity made the greater impression upon him, and shortened his days.

This year Lewis XI. completed the settlement of the posts. We have already observed, that he had made use of them upon occasion of the dauphin's illness, and in affairs of state. He at last permitted private persons to enjoy so useful an establishment.

B O O K X.

*1482.
Easter,
April 7.* **T**HOUGH Lewis XI. took more than ordinary pains to remove the apprehensions of death he had constantly before his eyes, he would sometimes dwell upon the idea in so lively a manner, as if he had a mind to render the image familiar to himself. He made an agreement with Conrard de Coulogne a goldsmith, and Lawrence Wrin a founder, to erect his tomb for a thousand crowns in gold. He himself fixed upon the form, dimensions, and ornaments of it. He required that a figure resembling himself should be placed upon it, the lineaments which his disease had altered being corrected notwithstanding by the pictures, which had been formerly drawn of him.

He expressed upon every occasion great disquietude as to the state of his conscience. He ordered an enquiry

enquiry to be made, whether the commissions he had granted had not been abused. He laid before the parliament the oath he had taken at his consecration, and sent with it the following letter :

Our trusty and well-beloved, we here send you a copy of the oaths we took at our accession to the crown, and as we are desirous to observe them, and do justice to every one, we beseech you, and at the same time expressly command you, to have such a regard to them, that no cause of complaint may arise from you, nor any burden be laid on our conscience.

The respect which the parliament owed to the king, did not hinder them from opposing him sometimes with a great deal of liberty. His majesty having published an edict concerning corn, without laying it before the parliament, they not only remonstrated against it, but declared it null. The king had granted the county of Ligny to the admiral of Bourbon ; this grant was not enregistred by the parliament 'till after several letters of jussion. And yet the county of Ligny was no part of the demesnes, and the king had disposed of it once before in favour of la Tremouille.

The parliament also passed an act this year, which though it did not concern the king was notwithstanding somewhat extraordinary. In 1479 Rochechouard bishop of Saintes had been condemned to pay a fine for the use of the Hôtel-Dieu, the Carthusians, and the convents. The prelate delaying to pay it, notwithstanding the complaints of those who were to reap the advantage of it, was thrown into prison upon the judgment of the procureur-general, and not suffered to have his liberty till he had complied with the decree.

Lewis, tho' formidable to his enemies, and revered by all Europe, was a slave to his physician. James Coittier, a native of Poligny in Franche-comté, and chief physician to Lewis XI. was the

most greedy and insolent man in the world. Proud of his skill in his profession, or rather of the need his master thought he had of him, he tyrannized over him, and never spoke to him but in a manner most cruelly and scandalously arrogant. He abused the ascendant he had over him to extort from him whatever he pleased, not so much requiring it of him, as imperiously ordering it, and by threatening to leave him. *I know*, sayed he, *you will one morning send for me, as you have done others, but I vow to God you shall not live eight days after it.*

Lewis, looking upon Coittier as the arbiter of his days, neither durst reply to him, nor refuse to give him. His fixed salary was ten thousand crowns a month, without reckoning in his extraordinary gratifications. It appeared by the treasurer's accounts, that Coittier received in less than eight months ninety-eight thousand crowns. The king gave him the lordships of Rouvré near Dijon, of St. Jean-de-Laune, of Brussay in the viscounty of Aulfone, of St. Germain-en-Laye, and of Triel, with the wardenship of the Palais and all its dependences. He was made vice-president, and afterwards premier-president of the chamber of accounts, notwithstanding the remonstrances of that court. He daily received new donations, the monuments of his own greediness and his master's weakness. After the king's death Coittier was called to account for the immense sums he had received, but he got off by paying a fine of fifty thousand crowns, and lived quietly with the rest.

Neither the business which his majesty had upon his hands, nor his particular uneasinesses, hindered him from looking constantly abroad. After the death of his sister the duchess of Savoy, he took a particular care of the young duke Philbert. He had committed the inspection of that prince to la *Chambre* a gentleman of Piedmont, whom he
knew

knew to be a man of resolution, and capable of opposing the designs of Philbert's uncles. La Chambre's resolution degenerated into haughtiness. He filled Savoy with troubles, and kept his master in a manner prisoner.

The king being convinced of the justice of the complaints made against la Chambre, ordered Philip of Savoy to take him into custody.

Philip seized on la Chambre, kept him *Feb.* prisoner, and conducted duke Philbert to

Grenoble. Commynes and Hocheberg marshal of Burgundy, the uncle of Philbert by Mary of Savoy his wife, went thither to receive him, and brought him to Lyons, where he dyed within

two months of seventeen years of age, *Apr. 22.* having merited no other title than that

of a hunter. He was succeeded by Charles his brother. As this prince was under age, his uncle Philip claimed the guardianship; but this was refused him, as being the immediate successor of his nephew. He was even obliged to quit the country of Savoy.

Whilst these things passed, Lewis set forward to accomplish a vow, which Commynes and du Bouchage had made for him to St. Claude. The accomplishment of this vow served only to diminish his health, which was the object of it. His first offering to St. Claude was one thousand five hundred

crowns in gold, and the second five hundred. He gave a rent-charge of *Apr. 20.*

four thousand livres for the foundation of a Mass. It would be too long to recite all the foundations that he made. Every church had a share in his donations. The greatest part of the demesnes were this way disposed of; and had he lived a few years longer, the revenues of the kingdom would have passed into the churchmen's hands. The offerings of this year by the single account of

Bidaut general of the finances amount to forty-nine thousand livres, that it is by no means surprizing, the parliament should oppose so many alienations.

The manner of life, which Lewis XI. had led, might well create in him remorse of conscience, but his disease had highly augmented it, and sometimes made him carry his scruples too far. He repented for having detained cardinal Balue and the bishop of Verdun so long in prison ; had he judged as a prince, he would have blamed himself for not making a severer example of them. Notwithstanding he sent to desire an absolution from the pope ; and we may reasonably believe it was not refused him. Sixtus IV. standing in need of the protection of France

May. against Ferdinand king of Naples, applied himself to remove the scruples of Lewis. He gave commission to several

prelates to grant him absolution, sent him a permission to eat flesh at all seasons, advised him to take care only of his health, and let him know that he had granted indulgences to all such as should visit the churches to pray for his recovery ; that he looked upon the Dauphin as being one day to be the support of the church ; that he was desirous of making him the churches standard-bearer ; and that he would send him a consecrated sword, that he might receive the first that he bore from the hand of the vicar of Jesus Christ.

After so many benedictions, the pope complained of the enterprizes of the king of Naples against the holy see. He said that Ferdinand had declared himself his enemy ; that he kept a body of Turks in his pay, with whom he had made incursions as far as the gates of Rome ; but that if his majesty would revive his claim to the kingdom of Naples, he should be supported by all the forces of the ecclesiastical state ; that if he declined to do this, he might at least oblige Ferdinand to lay down his arms ; or if
he

he continued to make war upon the holy see, his majesty ought to declare himself its defender. The pope added, that Ferdinand was in league with the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, and Ludovic Sforza the uncle to the young duke of Milan, and that the latter had shut up the duchess dowager in prison, that he might make an attempt upon the life of his nephew.

The pope omitted nothing that might provoke the king against Ferdinand and his allies; but at the same time took a step, which was not altogether so well-judged. Though he was not unacquainted with the king's resentment towards cardinal Balue, he notwithstanding made an apology for him, and gave him such encomiums, as if his majesty had never had a more faithful servant. Balue, who ought to have blushed for his crimes, and not triumphed in his pardon, had the insolence to ask the king for a recommendation to the pope.

Not long after Sixtus sent Remond Perauld, known since by the name of cardinal de Gurce, as his nuncio to the king; his instructions contained exactly the same with what the pope had already said to the ambassadors of France. The ambassador was farther charged to complain to his majesty of the archbishop of Strigonia, and demand justice against him. This prelate was he, who had talked with so much insolence at Rome to the ambassadors of France in the affair of the family of Medicis. He had afterwards quarrelled with the pope, and retired to Basil, where assuming to himself the cardinal's cap, he had published a manifesto filled with invectives against Sixtus, charging him with simony, homicide, and heresy. He summoned him to appear before the council which he pretended to call by his own private authority, and declared to him, that this council assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost should never break up, 'till it had provided a
remedy

remedy against the abuses prevailing in the church, and the manners of the court of Rome.

The pope insinuated, that this prelate would not have run such extravagant lengths, if he had not been thrown into prison for a failure of respect to the king in the person of his ambassadors ; that he had since preached several erroneous doctrines, and that his majesty both might and ought to have him taken into custody. It was not difficult to see that the king's interest had very little share in the pope's resentment ; but Sixtus imagined it was easy to abuse his majesty's weakness in every thing that seemed to have any relation to the church or its ministers. As the prelate's attempt was a mere extravagance, it fell into contempt, which was all that it deserved.

The king, so decayed, and dying as he was, scarce daring to shew himself to his subjects, was notwithstanding the arbiter of all other princes. The duchess of Milan, whom Ludovic Sforza, surnamed the Moor, her brother-in-law, had shut up in prison, in order to seize upon the government, found means to convey a man into France with the title of ambassador, to implore his majesty's protection. Ludovic, in hopes of founding the dispositions of his majesty, sent ambassadors to him at the same time, under a pretence of proposing a marriage between Charles duke of Savoy and the princess of Milan, who had been designed for Philbert.

The king not caring to see the ministers of Ludovic ordered the chancellor and Hallé the attorney-general to let them know, that being informed of their master's ill designs, he required that the duke of Milan's brother should be sent him by way of security for the life of the duke, and that Ludovic should break off all alliance with the king of Naples. The ambassadors seemed to acquiesce in the king's demands ; but the ambassador from the duchess farther

ther desired that his majesty would send some person of distinction to Milan to assist in all the councils.

The king would have had rest enough all around him, if he could have relied upon the truce made with the duke of Austria; but notwithstanding the treaties subsisting, there were always parties, which made incursions on both sides.

Whilst Lewis and Maximilian were signing treaties and making war upon each other, the face of affairs was changed by the death of Mary duchess of Austria. This princess being at Bruges, where she went a courting, fell from her horse, was wounded by the fall, * and died within three weeks after. Maximilian was the more afflicted *Ma. 27.* at her death, as he was a person of no consideration in himself. The citizens of Ghent contested with him the right of guardianship to his own children, and let the king know, that they were desirous of peace, and disposed to sign it by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess of Burgundy; that this opportunity was not to be lost, as the king of England proposed to make an alliance with Maximilian, and renounce all others; that if his majesty declined to purchase peace on this condition, the Flemish would join with the English against him. The death of the duchess of Burgundy fell out, whilst the king was making his visit to S. Claude. The Gantois immediately sent their deputies to him, but his majesty did not at first declare himself openly. Whether he did it out of regard to Edward, with whom he had entered into engagements for the marriage of the dauphin, or that he was not as yet absolutely determined, but he contented himself with a secret negotiation.

To

* 'Tis said, that through a false modesty concealing the place where she received the wound, she died of a gangrene.

To obtain a more perfect knowledge of the people's disposition, he sent emissaries into several towns in Flanders, and particularly to the people of Ghent, who had the prince and

June. prince of Burgundy in their hands.

Lewis had all the reason in the world to be satisfied, and studied only how to conclude the treaty proposed to him, and disable Maximilian from crossing his designs. He resolved to make himself master of the town of Aire. He was sure the Flemish would not oppose him in it, as they knew the duke would never incline to peace, and the marriage of the princess Margaret his daughter, unless driven to it by force of arms. Lewis kept up a correspondence in the town by means of one Giresme, a dextrous fellow, and fit to carry on an intrigue. He offered Cohem, who commanded in Aire, the sum of thirty thousand crowns, and a company of an hundred lances. Cohem accepted of the condition; but to hide the plot, marshal Des Querdes and du Gié

July 21. laid siege to the place, and fired upon it so briskly for eight days, that Cohem seemed only to surrender to superior force.

The country of Liege was at the same time the theatre of a bloody revolution. William de la Marck surnamed the Barbe or boar of Ardenne, had owed his education and many great obligations to Lewis of Bourbon bishop of Liege. La Marck, who was naturally of a fierce disposition, unthankful for benefits, and haughty upon being favoured, broke out into all kinds of violence, tyrannized over the house of his master, and killed one of his principal officers almost in his sight. The bishop was at last obliged to banish him his dominions. La Marck took refuge in France, and signified to the king, that if he would furnish him with a body of troops, he would secure a free passage to the French thro' the country of Liege, as often as he had inclination

to

to enter into Brabant. Lewis accepted of the proposition, and supplied him with a company of an hundred lances, and thirty thousand crowns. La Marck meeting every where with benefactors, and constantly returning their kindness with ingratitude, was not long before he displeased the king, and was obliged to leave France. He returned

August: into the country of Liege with part of his troops. He enlisted all the malecontents, and found himself at the head of near fifteen hundred men, persons of a resembling character with their commander, and who by way of distinction were all cloathed in red with a boar's head embroidered on the sleeve. He then advanced towards Liege, and found means to gain over Roussat and Pavillon, the magistrates of the city. The bishop at the head of 20000 men marched against the rebels; but entering into a narrow pass, his troops fell back, being either corrupted by the two traitors, or so seized with a panick, that they durst not engage with soldiers experienced in fighting. La Marck appeared that instant before the bishop; *Lewis of Bourbon*, said he, *I have sought your friendship, and you have refused it me.* At the same time he cleft his skull, and then ordered him to be stript, and thrown into the Meuse. La Marck immediately entered into Liege, made himself master of almost all the country, putting all to fire and sword that refused to submit to him, and obliged the canons to elect his son for their bishop.

This forced election was soon declared void. Two years after la Marck was delivered up to Maximilian, and beheaded at Utrecht.

The last harvests had been so bad in France, that notwithstanding all the care of the government the people suffered much by famine; and contagious diseases, which are usually the consequences of it, prevailed in all parts of the kingdom. The persons
of

of greatest note, who died this year, were Jane of France, the king's sister, and wife to John duke of Bourbon; the premier president John Boullanger, Charles de Gaucourt lieutenant to the king in Paris, Nicholas Bataille an eminent lawyer; and Martin Magistri, a man of low extraction and distinguished merit. Besides these there died abundance of considerable people, but the mortality principally fell upon the commonalty, that part of the subjects, which contributes more to the strength than ornament of a state.

The place of premier president being vacant by the death of John Boullanger was given to James de la Vacquerie, by birth a subject of the house of Burgundy. 'Tis said that la Vacquerie some time after receiving edicts, which he judged inconsistent with the publick welfare, in conjunction with the parliament waited upon the king, and thus addressed himself to him; *Sire, we are here come to give up our commissions into your hands, and suffer whatever your majesty shall think fit, rather than act against our consciences.* 'Tis added, that the king being more affected with their remonstrances, than offended with this proceeding of the parliament, recalled or mollified the edicts. But this story does not seem to be very well proved.

The king finding that the time of his departure drew nigh, visited the dauphin at Amboise, and gave him instructions in writing, which were afterwards registered in parliament. He laid before him the obligations they both had to God, put him in mind of the duties which the title of most christian king required from him, taking his examples of virtues from his predecessors, and of faults from his own conduct. He shewed him how dangerous all disorder was in the government, how blameable he was in removing the officers, who had served his father in the most difficult times of the monarchy. He exhorted

horted him not to commit the same fault, and advised him to take counsel of the princes of his blood, and his great officers, and to keep in those whom he should find in place, and who had served worthily and usefully, and to throw out none but such as had prevaricated, and were legally convicted of it.

His majesty ordered the dauphin to withdraw a-while, and privately reflect upon what he had read and heard; he then had him called in again, and made him swear, that in case he succeeded to the crown, he would observe all the directions that had then been recommended to him.

The king next sent for the duke of Orleans, at that time about twenty years of age, and made him promise to execute faithfully the orders that should be given for the tutelage of the young king, and the government of the state. The duke swore to observe whatever the king required, and even passed it into an act; but Lewis was scarce dead, before he broke through all his engagements.

Lewis continually recommended himself to the prayers of the most virtuous persons in the kingdom. Amongst this number was Helias de Bourdeille, whom his piety more than his knowledge had advanced, whilst only a cordelier, to the bishoprick of Perigueux; from thence he was translated to the archbishoprick of Tours, and was one of the principal commissioners nominated to assist at the trial of the abbé de St. Jean d'Angely, that the opinion the world had of this prelate's virtue, might remove all suspicions to the prejudice of the judgment that should be given.

Lewis having desired Bourdeille to pray to God for the recovery of his health, the prelate did not confine himself to prayers, but took upon him to advise his majesty by awakening his scruples rather than quieting them. He represented to him, that he had much misused cardinal Balue and the bishop
of

of Verdun, and farther gave in a list of prelates, who thought they had reason to complain of his majesty's treatment, such as the bishop of Laon the constable's son, the bishop of Castres brother to the duke of Nemours, the bishop of Sêez, S. Flour, and Coutances, who being allied to his enemies, or under actual engagements with them, had no great cause to complain of being suspected. The king was much offended with the liberty taken by the good archbishop, and let him know by the chancellor that he intermeddled with more matters than belonged to him, and was not aware of the consequences of what he said; that he had desired his prayers and not his advice; and that he defied any person whatsoever to find just fault with his conduct towards the dissatisfied bishops. The king then assuming a greater degree of vivacity than ever, ordered the chancellor to summons all these prelates, and require an account of their pretended grievances. Accordingly they were summoned, but the affair stopped there; in all probability the bishops did not care to have any concern in the indiscretion of Bourdeille, or to enter into judgment with their master.

The chancellor then visited the archbishop of Tours, and represented to him, that religion did not excuse him from the respect he owed to the king; that he had gone beyond the bounds of his duty as a subject; and that the utmost caution ought to be used in reprehending princes, not only upon account of the respect that was due to them, but that they might yield so favourable an ear to the counsels given, as to profit by them.

The chancellor wrote to the king, that the archbishop was sorry he had displeased him, that he had never forgotten, nor ever should forget, the duty he owed him, both as a subject and as archbishop; that he never ceased to pray and to make others pray for the preservation of his majesty; and farther that he

was brought very low by a long fit of illness, but that as soon as he had recovered his strength, he would give his majesty an account of his conduct. This letter composed the king's mind. I find no proof of the fact advanced by messieurs de St. Marthe, that the archbishop's temporalities were seized on.

In the mean time the pope, who was the more attentive to his own interest, as the king, seeming to neglect his, refused nothing to the church, made pressing instances to obtain the counties of Valentinois and Diois. But as every thing was to be feared from the weakness of a prince tormented with scruples, and who sought to get rid of them only by profuseness towards the church; the chancellor directed Hallé archbishop of Narbonne, who had formerly been attorney-general, a good prelate and a good citizen, to keep the king upon his guard against the pope's solicitations.

At the same time the commissioners of the king and the duke of Britany met at Angers, to settle the differences which had arose between the officers of justice belonging to their respective masters. The duke's deputies making a great shew of the irregular proceedings of the king's officers, his majesty's commissioners answered, that before they examined those grievances, it would be necessary to agree upon the limits; that before they entered into disputes, which would take up a great deal of time, his majesty had complaints to make, for which he expected immediate reparation, and which did not stand in need of any eclaircissement; of this nature were acts of disobedience to the decrees of parliament; that Chauvin the chancellor of Britany was actually detained in the duke's prisons, though he had appealed to the king's courts, and his majesty had received the appeal, and ordered him either to be set at liberty, or removed to the king's prison at Paris and prosecuted there; that the duke sheltered malefactors, and particularly

particularly the smugglers of salt, which was of great prejudice to the king's customs. The conferences thus passing in disputes on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, the commissioners broke up their meeting after having agreed to meet again in December to settle the limits.

France has at all times been the umpire of her neighbours, and the asylum of unfortunate princes. Gem or Zizime, the second son of Mahomet II. pretended to have a greater right to the throne than Bajazet his elder brother, as the latter was born in the life-time of Amurath their grandfather, whilst Mahomet was a subject and not emperor; whereas Zizime was born, after Mahomet had succeeded to the throne.

The affection of the people supported the pretensions of Zizime; but the bashaw Achmet general of the Ottoman troops declared for Bajazet, made himself master of Constantinople, advanced against Zizime as far as Bithynia, and gave him battle. Zizime being defeated fled to the sultan of Egypt. He was at last obliged to take refuge in the court of the king of Caramania, from whence he passed to Rhodes, and from thence into France. He continued there without being admitted to his majesty's presence, at least we have no proof of it from the accounts of the king's household, which are very exact in the smallest particulars relating to the expences laid out for ambassadors of foreign princes. Besides, the king in a declining way and greatly altered in his person, chose to absent himself entirely from the view of others. He apprehended, that he could no otherwise preserve his authority than by governing from the most private part of his retirement, hiding himself from all eyes, and suffering none to see him, but such as were absolutely necessary to his service. The chagrin which devoured him, and the apprehension of losing his authority served only to make the

the orders he gave the more severe. This we see by a letter he wrote to the chancellor upon a subject of no great importance.—*Chancellor, you have refused to sign the letters of Boutilas my maître-d' hôtel, dispatch it upon your life.*

It is to an edict published this year, that we must refer the form of the college of the king's secretaries, as it stands at present. This company had been long established. The preceding kings had granted it large privileges. Lewis the XI. did not always take out of this body those whom he made use of to write or counter-sign letters patents and other dispatches; he frequently employed others to this purpose. After the war of the publick good, he put out all those he had newly raised, confirmed the privileges of the old ones, fixed their employment, and gave them fresh privileges which they still enjoy, and fixed their number to fifty-nine, whereof the king was to be the sixtieth and the head. This edict was registered the year following, and is still a standing law in all matters, wherein the company is concerned.

The emissaries, which Lewis maintained in Flanders, did not fail to let him know, that the people in those provinces desired peace, and were disposed to sign it by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess of Burgundy; but that if this circumstance was not complied with, there was cause to apprehend they would enter into a league with the English. The zeal of the Flemish for this alliance was so notorious, that when the governor of Arras sent a trumpet to their camp under Aloft, the troops only enquired after the dauphin, and expressed an extreme desire to see him.

As Lewis never used greater precaution than in the matters he most desired, he dispatched John Guerin his maître-d'hôtel, to be still farther certified of the dispositions of the people of Ghent; he
then

then began secretly to negotiate with Maximilian, and soon after appointed Crevecœur lord of Querdus, Olivier de Couetman his majesty's lieutenant in Arras, the premier-president la Vacquerie, and John Guérin, to be his plenipotentiaries.

Maximilian nominated also to act for him Daufay master of requests to his household, Gort-Rolland pensionary of Bruxelles, James de Steenwerper, Gossuin abbot of Affleghem, the abbé d'Aumont, de Berghes lord of Walhain, Bouvrie, Lannoy, Baldwin de Molembais, de Goy lord of Auxy, and several others.

The ministers met at Arras, and agreed upon almost all the articles of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Margaret. The greatest difficulties were upon the manner, whereby the counties of Burgundy and Artois, and the other territories which were already in the king's possession, should be given up to him. The king pretended, that these provinces belonged to him of right; Maximilian and the states would not part with them but as a lot and portion of the princess. The plenipotentiaries of France demanded the towns of Lisle, Douay, and Orchies, which had been given to Philip duke of Burgundy by Charles V. only upon condition of reverting to the crown in case of failure of male heirs, and this case was actually arrived. Though the king's right was incontestible. The Flemish could not consent to give up the places to him, which were situated in the midst of their country. The plenipotentiaries observing that the Flemish would never comply with this article, chose not to break off the negotiation, but let the king know, that his majesty's right would still subsist, which he might hereafter support in due time and place; and that the provinces they gave up to him, would not only serve him as a proper security for those three places, but would also farther enable

enable him to make himself one day the master of them.

Lewis yielded to their advice, sent *Dec. 14.* them full powers to remove all other difficulties, and the peace was signed.* *Dec. 23.*

The king immediately sent letters to all the governors, bailiffs, and seneschals, to assemble the states of their governments in order to ratify the dauphin's marriage with Margaret of Austria. They did not even wait till the treaty was signed † before they demanded the confirmation, which the Flemish required. He dispatched la Grange bailly of Auxonne to the duke of Bourbon and the count of Nevers to have their seals according to the model, which la Grange carried them.

These princes made their remonstrances to a clause in the treaty, by which the king, in case of contravention on his part, discharged them from their oath of allegiance. They urged, that the laws of the state, which attached them to the king, were out of his power. The count of Nevers raised some other difficulties, and claimed an incontestable right to Brabant,‡ which hindered him from ratifying the treaty purely and simply; for which reason he entreated the king not to take it ill, that he had

* I do not relate the treaty, because, as the marriage did not take place, it became void. Such as are disposed to see it, will find it in the appendix to the memoirs of Commynes published by Godefroy, Tom. V. p. 272.

† 'Tis said in the treaty, that the princes of the blood, the peers, the university of Paris, the principal towns, cities, and commonalties of the kingdom, the prelates and nobility of the counties of Artois and Burgundy had engaged themselves by their hands and seals to maintain this treaty in all its points and articles.

‡ The count of Nevers, as a descendant from Philip the bold, had a claim to the succession of this house, and particularly to Brabant, which Philip the good had usurped from him.

had added in signing it, that he approved the treaty without prejudice to his own right.

The duke of Austria and the states of Brabant nominated the abbots of St. Bertin and St. Peter of Ghent, John de Berghes lord of Walhain, Lannoy, Goy, de la Moire, Rym, Pinnock, Dauffay, and Mergolles to be their ambassadors.

They first came to Paris, and were
 1483. received by the bishop of Marfeilles and
Jan. 24, the officers of the city. The next mor-
Easter ning they were present at the *Te Deum*
Mar. 30. in the church of Nôtre-Dame, and dined
 at the hôtel-de-ville. In the evening
 the cardinal of Bourbon gave them a splendid en-
 tertainment, which was followed by a comedy in
 the taste of those times, that is, a *Piece of morality*
 or a *droll*. The next morning they set out for
 Tours to wait upon the king.

In their first audience they desired his majesty would be pleased to give the dauphin authority to swear to the treaty of peace, to give up to them the deeds and securities, which had been promised for the accomplishment of the treaty, to promise that the countries given with the princess as her portion should be governed according to their own laws and customs, that the town of Arras should resume its antient government, and all the old inhabitants that had been forcibly carried out of it, have leave to return thither, follow their professions, and recover their estates. The ambassadors farther besought the king to withdraw his troops, that the duke of Austria might do the same on his side; to recall all the French, who served under la Marck, and assist in driving that rebel out of the country of Liege; to restore Frances and Mary of Luxembourg, the grand-daughters of the constable, to their family-possession; to restore the county of Porcien to

Philip

Philip de Croy, to give the prisoners their liberty, or set a ransom upon them.

The ambassadors made fresh instances for consent to comprehend the duke of Britany in the treaty; after which they went to Amboise to pay their compliments to the dauphin, and to make him swear to all these articles, and particularly to that which concerned his marriage with the princess Margaret, and the preservation of the privileges and customs of the countries, that were given up to him.

The lord of Beaujeu was with the dauphin, whom the king had appointed his tutor and guardian, being minded that he should discharge the functions of his office during his life-time. No body was more capable or more deserving of this employment than Beaujeu. Steadfast, disinterested, and prudent, when he asked advice he did not merely require an approbation of his own sentiments. As he had not the presumption to think himself well skilled in matters wherein he had not been trained up, he wrote to du Bouchage to send him some learned man of the gown, conversant in the matters then under agitation, capable of drawing up the necessary deeds, and of examining as well those which the dauphin would be obliged to sign, as those which the ambassadors were to give.

The dauphin, authorized by the king, swore in the presence of the ambassadors, upon the host, upon the true cross, and upon the gospels, to keep all the articles of the treaty of peace, and of the marriage. The ambassadors then re-

Jan. 22. turning to the king, his majesty ratified the treaty, and by an act dated the same day renounced all pretensions to the estates yielded to the dauphin. He then dismissed the ambassadors, and presented them with thirty

Feb. 9. thousand crowns in gold, and five hundred and sixty marks in silver.

Picard bailif of Rouen accompanied them as far as Paris, and presented to the parliament a close letter from the king to have the treaty of peace registered. Michael de Pons procureur-general, Gannay and Le Maître attorneys general, being informed of the act, by which the king renounced all his pretensions to the estates yielded by the treaty of peace, made their protestation, declaring that the act of rendering it they were going to perform could in no wise prejudice the right of the king and his crown, and demanded that their opposition should be registered, in order to maintain in due time and place the rights of his majesty, which could not now be done, considering the desire his majesty had to see a conclusion given to all these affairs. The parliament having admitted this protestation, they then read the king's letter, by which he laid the treaty before them, with the acts made in consequence thereof.

The day following the treaty of peace was published, but before it was registered, they gave Dauffay, who brought it, the choice of these two clauses, *The procureur-general being present, and not opposing, or the procureur-general being present and consenting.* Dauffay chose the latter, and they proceeded to register it. The parliament then said to the ambassadors, that *as the treaty took in the duke and the estates of Flanders, no less than the king, and the dauphin, and their estates, it would be proper that the duke's ratification should be deposited in the court; to which Dauffay made answer, that their demand was reasonable.*

The ambassadors having left the city to return into Flanders, his majesty ordered a procession from Paris to S. Denis by way of thanksgiving
Feb. 18. for the peace, and to implore the preservation of the king, the queen, and the dauphin. We learn from the deliberations had upon

upon this occasion, that the parliament then consisted of an hundred persons.

Some few days after his majesty sent embassadors to the duke of Austria to be present at his taking a like oath with that which had been taken by himself, to keep and observe faithfully the treaty of peace and alliance.

Lewis XI. though overburdened with afflictions, and engaged in affairs of the highest consequence, notwithstanding extended his care to other parts of Europe.

The troubles of Navarre had begun in 1441 upon the death of Blanche of Navarre. That queen setting aside by her will the settlement made by her marriage-contract, left the crown to her husband John during life, to the prejudice of her children. But neither the death of king John, nor that of his daughter Eleonore, restored peace to the kingdom. It was constantly divided by factions. The reign of Francis Phoebus, who succeeded his grandmother Eleonore, was very short. This prince, the son of Gaston Phoebus and Magdalene of France, died in the beginning of this year at fifteen years of age, and by his will appointed his sister Catherine to be his sole heir.

The king declared himself the protector of Catherine his grand niece, and opposed the designs of the counts of Lérins and Beaumont, who would have united Navarre to Arragon and Castille, which Ferdinand had already in possession.

The viscount of Narbonne, supported by cardinal de Foix, and the dukes of Orleans and Britany, took the title of king of Navarre, and thought to draw over Ferdinand and Isabella to his interest, by representing to them, that Lewis only supported Catherine to perpetuate his own authority in Navarre; but Ferdinand espoused the cause of Catherine in hopes of marrying her to his son John. Lewis

XI. and his sister Magdalene opposed it. The lawful heirs of this kingdom would still have been in possession, if Lewis XII. had been as great a man as Lewis XI.

In the mean time great preparations were made for the marriage of the dauphin. Edward king of England was in so high indignation at being deceived by Lewis XI. and seeing France going to be farther strengthened by the union of the provinces, which the princess Margaret brought in marriage, that he died with grief. Others say that he died of an apoplexy after a hard fit of drinking. There were some also, who suspected him to have been poisoned by his brother Richard duke of Gloucester. The crimes which Gloucester committed both before and since, render these suspicions highly probable. All the steps he made towards the throne were so many treasons. He had been the principal author in the death of his brother the duke of Clarence. After Edward's death he cut off all those, who had shewn any attachment to that prince. He filled up the parliament with his creatures, caused the marriage of the late king to be set aside, and the children who were born of it to be declared illegitimate, and soon after put them all to death. England, jealous of its liberty in opposition to its kings, and submissive under tyrants, saw all these crimes committed without stirring.

Lewis did not seem to take the least concern in the death of Edward, but would make no alliance with the usurper; tho' we find in Rymer some schemes of treaties, which were never concluded.

Lewis could not better revenge himself of the English, than by leaving them to their usual factions. He had not the same indifference for Italy. The different states, whereof it is composed, were all armed against each other. Their interests changed every moment, and their rage was constantly the same.

same. One party in an instant became the declared enemy of that, to which it was allied the day before. Sixtus IV. after having joined with Ferdinand king of Naples, saw the ecclesiastical state ravaged by Alphonfus duke of Calabria, Ferdinand's son. The Venetians sent Robert Malatesta to the pope's assistance at the head of 1500 horse. He defeated the duke of Calabria, and entered Rome in triumph. The pope grew jealous of the services done him by the Venetians; he found they were growing too powerful, and sought how to cross their designs.

Lewis sent Liffenay and Monjeu, gentlemen of Burgundy, to pacify the troubles of Italy, and particularly those which subsisted between the republick of Venice and the duke of Milan. The bishop of Lombez returned some time after into Spain to finish the affair of Roussillon. May.

Lewis, dreaded and respected on all sides, fixed the fate of several states, whilst shut up in the castle of Pleffis-lès-Tours, he became a prey to the suspicions and horrors of an approaching death. On one hand he saw death advancing towards him by slow degrees, and on the other he apprehended a thousand treasons. He ordered the castle to be fenced round with an iron grate stuck full of spikes, and caused eighteen thousand calthorpes to be dispersed in the fosses; four hundred archers kept guard, and forty were constantly watching under arms, and fired upon those, who ventured to draw nigh. All who were obliged to enter the castle underwent a strict search. The dauphin was alternately the object of his father's tenderness and suspicion. He caused the *rosier des guerres* to be compiled for his instruction, filled with the wisest maxims of government. At the same time he feared lest the young prince should be impatient to reign, or that the malecontents should make an ill use of his name; he then looked

upon his son as his cruellest enemy. He daily changed his domesticks, and not caring to own his terrible apprehensions, he said that nature took delight in change. The fear of losing his authority led him only to exercise it according to his capricious disposition. He every day put out old officers to place new ones in their room. To employ continually the attention of strangers, he caused horses, dogs, and all sorts of curious animals, to be brought out of other countries, and did not deign to look upon them when they were come. He would shew himself magnificently dressed in a balcony, and disappear in an instant, that the spectators might not discern the alteration in his features. Distrust and apprehension were to him continual executioners. Being more tormented by his suspicions than satisfied with the punishments he enjoined, it would have been too great an happiness to have been freed by death from all the horrors, which it inspired. At the time that he took the most cruel precaution against men, he sought to appease heaven by all the methods suggested by fear; he recommended himself to the prayers of others, and had relicks brought him from every quarter. Though constantly employed in political affairs, he never conferred with the ministers of princes, but with superstitious or interested monks. One James Rosat a cordelier, came from Lombardy with seven or eight of his companions, and was received by the king with distinction. The canons of Cologne came to secure the revenues which his majesty had bestowed upon their church, in honour of the three kings, whose relicks had been set off to such high advantage. The dean of Aix-la-Chapelle brought of them to him; and a merchant sold him a little image of silver for one hundred and sixty livres.

The fear of death being grown the principle of all the actions of Lewis XI. he sought from every quar-

ter for remedies or prayers. The slave of his physician, and loaden with relicks, he squandered away his substance among the church-men. He bestowed considerable gifts upon the abbey of St. Denis; and granted to that of S. Germain the free fair, which subsists at present. Without dwelling upon a particular account of the expences which it cost his majesty in devotions, it may suffice to say, that they daily encreased in proportion to his infirmities.

Bajazet II. emperor of the Turks, hoping to profit by the weakness of Lewis, sent him an ambassador with a list of all the relicks, that were at Constantinople, and offered them to him, upon condition that he would only detain Zizime in France, and hinder him from going back into the east. Lewis rejected the proposal of Bajazet, and scorned to violate the laws of hospitality in the person of an unfortunate prince. The Turkish ambassador after waiting a long time in Provence, returned back without being able to obtain an audience.

Lewis was very averse to treat with infidels. He waited with impatience for the arrival of Matortille, who was better known by the name of Francis de Paule.

Francis, a native of Paule, a town in Calabria, devoted himself to God from his infancy. Born with a pure heart and an upright mind, he despised all human sciences, and employed himself wholly in that of heaven. Notwithstanding his retirement the fame of his holy life was soon spread over Italy and France. Lewis desired ardently to see him, hoping by his prayers to obtain the recovery of his health. He besought the pope and the king of Naples to send this holy man into France, and built a house for him in his park. He was continually sending couriers to hasten the arrival of the *holy man*, for so he is named in the accounts of the king's household.

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As soon as he got sight of him, he ran to meet him, and throwing himself at his feet, besought him to prolong his life. Francis raised him up, and in a humble manner represented to him, that our days are in the hands of God, but at the same time he endeavoured to comfort him, and prepare him for death. Lewis had frequent discourses with him, and appeared afterwards more composed. Humble and sincere devotion, and solid piety, were then seen to be respected at court.

At a time when the fear of death seemed to have given a wrong turn to the mind of Lewis XI. it was always sound and present in business. Upon receiving complaints that Palamédes Fourbin abused his authority in Provence, he suspended him from the execution of his office, and ordered Baudricourt to enquire into his conduct. Baudricourt discharged his commission with equal integrity and judgment. He made a most exact enquiry, and upon his informing the king, that Fourbin had faithfully done his duty, and that the complaints against him were no other than the effect of the jealousy and malice, which are raised by great employments, and are the highest commendation of those who fill them, Fourbin was restored to his office with greater authority than before.

Lewis constantly exercised in governing, removed Doriol from the chancellorship, to give it to William de Rochefort, who had passed from the service of Burgundy into that of France.

Doriol was mayor of Rochelle, and several times deputed by the city to Charles VII. He applied himself to the court, and was successively master of accounts, general of the finances, and ambassador. He discharged so well the several commissions which were given him, that the king honoured him with the dignity of chancellor. He was perfectly well acquainted with the laws of the kingdom and the
rights

rights of the crown. No body was more laborious, but his great age did not allow him to act with the same diligence. Lewis thought, that the highest places ought to be the reward of actual services; and though he was well satisfied with what Doriole had done, he took his post from him, and gave him that of premier-president of the chamber of accounts, as being attended with less fatigue.

The lord of Beaujeu and the princess Anne his wife were ordered to attend upon Margaret of Austria. Anne claimed a right of delivering the prisoners upon making her first entry into Paris; but the parliament opposed it, and said, that this privilege belonged only to the king, the queen, and the dauphin, and not to the other children of France.

The lord and lady of Beaujeu upon their arrival at Hesdin, delivered the deeds signed by the princes and towns of the kingdom, to the deputies of Maximilian, and received those of the lords and towns of the Low-Countries.

Margaret of Austria was given into the hands of the lord and lady of Beaujeu *May 19.* by Catherine de Clèves, by the lords of Ravestein, Vers, and Ligne, the abbot of St. Bertin, and the chancellor of Brabant.

Ravestein being minded, before he left the princess, that she should exercise the rights and privileges which belonged to her as dauphiness and countess of Artois, when she made her entry into Bethune, gave a pardon in her highness's name to Ogier and Bernard de l'Aoust two brothers, surnamed d'Auron, who were in prison at Bethune for the murder of four men. The judge of the place refused to pay any regard to these letters of grace, but the dauphin, when he came to the crown, confirmed them.

Margaret made her entry into Paris amidst the acclamations of the people. *June 2.*
P 5 *The*

The parliament went in a body to receive her beyond the gates of the city ; and Beaujeu gave letters of freedom to several companies of tradesmen in the princess's name, by virtue of the privilege of happy arrival. Margaret after this proceeded to Angers.

June 23. The espousals were celebrated with all possible magnificence. The principal towns

June 23. of the kingdom sent deputies thither, who with their followers were entertained at the king's expence. The lord of Beaujeu, the count of Dunois, S. Pierre, grand seneschal of Normandy, the lord d'Albert, and Guy Pot count de S. Pol, governor of Touraine, did all the honours of the feast, which was more distinguished by its magnificence, than the publick joy ; as prayers were put up at the same time for the health of the king, which was past recovery.

No day passed without some particular fancy. The pope sent a brief, by which he permitted the king to be anointed a second time with the oil of the holy ampoule. Soon after Grimaldi the pope's steward arrived with abundance of relicks. The people of Rome had like to have rose upon their apprehension of being deprived of a treasure of this kind. Serious remonstrances were made of it to the pope, who was obliged to excuse himself by urging the obligations the holy see had to the kings of France.

The approaches of death ordinarily draw men off from the rest of the world to bring them nearer to themselves ; every thing then becomes foreign to them ; Lewis never ceased to reign, nor to employ himself in the affairs of the government. His whole person seemed extinct ; the king alone subsisted still. In his last moments he renewed the alliance with the Hanse towns. He entered into the minutest particulars of the police, and severely punished the bakers, who had combined to raise the price of bread.

On

On Monday the 25th of August his majesty had so severe a fainting fit, that he was believed to be dead. Briçonnet, who attended upon him, immediately sent word of it to Paris. The report of the king's death was spread into all quarters; every body was persuaded of it, and yet durst not openly speak of it. In the mean time the chancellor de Rochefort went to the parliament to exhort them to keep the people quiet, and then set forward on his journey toward the king.

His majesty recovered from his fit, but found himself so very low, that he judged his end was nigh. He ordered the lord of Beaujeu to wait upon the king at Amboise, for so he constantly called the dauphin after his late violent attack. He sent him the seals by the chancellor, with part of his guard, his hounds, and his hawks. He bid all those that came to see him attend upon the king, and advised them to be faithful to their new master. He usually added some maxim of government, which he desired them to repeat to the dauphin.

After his recovery from his fainting, he had his senses perfect, and spoke to the last moment. This calmness made those about him imagine, that he might flatter himself concerning his condition. Roli his confessor thought it his duty to undeceive him, and let him know that he ought now to think of nothing else but his salvation.

The difficulty was how to declare it to him. His majesty had often said, that when they saw him absolutely in danger, they should be careful not to pronounce the cruel word death, only make him understand it by saying, *talk little*. They were not however at this time so careful in this respect. Olivier le Dain took the office upon himself, and said to him in the presence of Francis de Paule and the first physician Coittier; *Sire, it becomes us to discharge our duty towards you; place no more confidence in this holy*
man,

man, nor in any thing else; for certainly all is over with you, and therefore think of your conscience, for there is no remedy left. The king, without seeming terrified, barely answered, *I hope that God will assist me, for it may be I am not so ill, as you imagine.* He then began to think more seriously than ever of his last orders. Constantly dwelling upon the dauphin and the state, he advised that Des Querdes should continue at least six months with the young king; that they should no longer think of Calais or any other enterprize that might rekindle the war in the kingdom, which stood in need of five or six years of peace. He added, that what would have been very advantageous, in case he had lived, would become very dangerous after his death; that for this reason they should not disturb the duke of Britany. He then spoke of the count of S. Pol and the duke of Nemours, whom he had put to death; and declared that he repented only for one of them; this 'tis said was the duke of Nemours, though in this case Lewis could have no occasion for scruple, unless concerning the form. Nemours was very guilty; but he was judged by commissioners, and those, who had not joined in the sentence of death, were disgraced.

After the king had given his last directions, he required and received the sacraments with resignation and resolution, making the responses to every prayer. He gave orders about his funeral, and named those who should attend his body; in his last moments he ceased not to repeat, *Our lady of Embrun, my good mistress, assist me. Misericordias domini in æternum cantabo.* He said, that through the devotion he had paid to the Virgin he hoped he should not die till saturday; a circumstance which was taken notice of, because it was confirmed by the event. In short, Lewis XI. died on saturday the 30th of August about seven o'clock in the evening, and eight days after was interred at Cléry.

The

The fame of the death of eminent princes is generally spread abroad before it happens; and when 'tis certain, mankind scarce dare to give credit to it; they question it a while, are fearful of falling under suspicion by manifesting the impressiion it makes upon them, and wait in silence for the judgment of the publick. This was precisely the case upon the first news of the death of Lewis; but when it was confirmed, the consternation became general; they knew not as yet whether to lament or rejoice, to hope or fear; those who thought themselves delivered from an absolute and terrible master, could not disown but they had also lost a defender.

Such was the end of Lewis XI. a prince, who will always be famous in our history, beloved by the people, hated by the great men, formidable to his enemies, and respected by all Europe.

Lewis created two parliaments, that of Bourdeaux in 1462. and that of Dijon on the 18th of March 1476. He ordered by his will that the lord and lady of Beaujeu should have the guardianship of Charles VIII. They so deservedly answered the confidence placed in them by the king, that the states of the kingdom assembled at Tours in 1484, made them their acknowledgments, confirmed the guardianship to them, and notwithstanding the cabals of the duke of Orleans, gave them the principal authority in the government. At this time the states proceeded neither out of fear nor weakness; it was so little out of regard to the memory of Lewis, that they proposed to restore every thing besides to the same state they were in under Charles VII. As Lewis XI. had never placed any confidence in the queen, he never suffered her to interfere in matters of business, and only saw her to have children by her. He ordered upon his death-bed that she should remain like an exiled woman in the castle of Loches. 'Tis probable, the lady of Beaujeu would have found it difficult

scult how to have acted, between the respect she owed to her mother, and the obedience she owed to the king her father; but the queen died within a few months after the king; worthy the lamentations of the court, if virtue was lamented there.

All I have now left is to relate certain particulars of the private life of Lewis XI. which the order and connexion of facts would not allow me to insert in the body of his history.

This prince is the first of our kings who introduced, or at least carried very far, the custom of eating in publick with his subjects; one of his greatest expences was that of his table. His favourites were usually dressed like himself, and habitually admitted to his table and his bed. This last usage was long kept up in France, even among our kings. The best reception a man could give to his guest, was to give him a part of his bed.

Lewis XI. ever greedy after instruction, invited the foreigners to his table, from whom he hoped to gain any useful knowledge; he even admitted tradesmen thither, who could give him any insight into commerce. He chose the freedom of a meal to engage them to speak with the greater confidence. A tradesman, whose name was Maître-Jean, misled by the king's civilities towards him, who often made him sit down to table with him, thought proper to desire his majesty to make him a gentleman. The king accordingly granted him his request; but when this new gentleman appeared next at court, his majesty designedly took no notice of him. Maître-Jean surprized not to find himself received in the same manner as before, complained of it. *Go, go, Mr. gentleman,* says the king to him, *when I made you sit down with me at my table, I considered you as the first person of your rank; but as now you are the last, I should do an injury to others, if I shewed you the same favour.* Lewis XI. was minded to pay an honourable regard

to all those, who were distinguished in their station ; and would have them learn not to be ashamed of it, when themselves were an honour to it.

He would sometimes go from house to house to dine and sup with the citizens. He enquired into their affairs, interposed in their marriages, and would be godfather to their children. He would become a member in the fraternities of the very mechanicks, and would say to those who reproached him with not paying a sufficient regard to his dignity, *that when pride leads the way, shame and loss follow close behind.* He was much delighted with a reparatee. One day he went into the kitchen, and asked a lad that was turning the spit, who he was. The boy, who did not know the king, told him his name was Berruyer, that his post was not a very high one, and yet he got as much as the king. *Well, and what does the king get,* cried Lewis. *His expences,* answered the child, *which he has from God, as I have mine from the king.* Lewis took Berruyer out of the kitchen, and gave him a place in the chamber, where he afterwards gained a large fortune.

Lewis did not take it amiss, that others should joke with him. Brezé said to him one day, equivocating according to the taste of those times, *that his horse was the strongest in the world, as it carried the king and his council.*

Lewis one day meeting the bishop of Chartres upon a horse richly caparisoned, said to him, *bishops formerly did not go in that manner.* No, sir, replied the bishop, *not when kings were shepherds.* This reply pleased the king.

Philip de Crevecoeur lord of Querdes made a still bolder reply. He had passed from the service of Burgundy into that of France. As he had received considerable sums for the execution of several enterprizes, the king required him to give an account how he had laid out the money. Des Querdes set
down

down several articles, so that the disbursement exceeded the receipt. Lewis not finding the account exact, would have had every article examined and enquired into. Des Querdes vexed at so particular an enquiry, Sire, says he, *I have purchased with this money the towns of Aire, Arras, St. Omer, Bethune, Bergue, Dunkirk, Gravelines, and a great many others; if your majesty will be pleased to give me them back, I will return to you all the money I have received.* The king finding that Des Querdes had thought fit in some measure to be his own pay-master for the services he had done, made answer, *By the passover God, marshal, 'tis better to leave things as they are.* He loved to explain himself in a concise manner. Edward king of England having taken into custody his brother the duke of Clarence, who was charged with holding intelligence with the duchess dowager of Burgundy, sent to advise with Lewis XI. how he should proceed. Lewis answered him with this verse of Lucan,

Tolle moras, semper nocuit differre paratum.

Whereupon Edward immediately put his brother to death.

The more Lewis XI. esteemed men of courage, the more apprehensive he was of losing them. Ralph de Lannoy having mounted the breach through fire and sword at the siege of Quesnoy, the king who had been witness of his bravery, threw a chain of gold round his neck worth five hundred crowns, saying to him, *By the passover God, my friend, you are too furious in the fight, we must chain you; for as I desire to make use of you more than once, I am not willing to lose you.* The descendants of Lannoy have long bore a chain around their arms, in memory of this action.

As Lewis XI. esteemed men of bravery, he could not bear to see them in the least negligent of their duty. One day reviewing the gentlemen of his household,

household, and finding none of them in a military equipage, he caused a number of *escrittoires* to be distributed amongst them, saying, that as they were not in a condition to serve him with their arms, they should serve him with their pens.

Lewis was a lover and protector of learning; he would have even applied himself to study by choice, if the discharge of his duty would have allowed him any leisure time. He knew that talents, sciences, letters and arts, are closely united; that they constitute the glory of a nation; and that in a mighty state this glory is a real advantage, though the usefulness of it may be hidden from the vulgar eye. He compared an ignorant man who has a library, to a man who sees not the load he has on his back.

Lewis had always some Astrologers in his pay. His taste for that ridiculous madness was rather the error of his age than of himself. The narrower the mind is, the more objects it thinks it can comprehend. 'Tis only by being enlightened, that it can arrive at the extent of its faculties, and learn how far the certainty of its knowledge can reach.

'Tis said, that an astrologer having foretold the death of a woman whom Lewis loved, and chance having confirmed the prediction, the king sent for him, and said to him, *Here, you who can foretell all things to come, tell me, when shall you die.* The astrologer either informed, or suspecting, that the king laid a trap for him, made answer, *I shall die three days before your majesty.* The king's fear and superstition got the better of his resentment, and he took a particular care of the artful impostor.

It was a maxim with Lewis to shun distant wars, as being always fatal to France. He preferred a settled power to an extensive dominion. The Genoese had several times sued for the protection of France, and had obtained it; but their gratitude never lasted longer

longer than their necessities. After having several times taken and broken the same oaths, they offered to give themselves up to Lewis, and acknowledge him for their sovereign. *You give yourselves to me,* says he to them, *and for my part, I give you to the Devil.*

'Tis said of this prince, that finding a poor Priest asleep in a church, he made him a canon; that there might be one, of whom it could be said, that good came to him while he slept.

Lewis did several acts of charity, upon better and more serious objects than this. A poor woman threw herself at his feet, complaining that they would not bury her husband in holy ground, because he died insolvent. The king told her, he had not made the laws, but he payed the debts, and ordered the body to be buried.

As he was at prayers in a church, a poor clergyman came and told him, that after having already languished in prison for a debt of fifteen hundred livres, he was again going to be arrested for the same sum, which he was absolutely unable to pay. The king paid it instantly, and said to him, *you came in a good time; it is fit that I sho^d have compassion upon the miserable, as I was desiring God to have pity upon me.* Such actions as these as much deserve a place in history, as the relation of a battle.

I must not forget an extravagant circumstance, which shews how much men engaged in business of the greatest consequence, may fall into passions for trifles. Lewis kept in prison, I know not for what cause, Wolfand de Poulhain, a person greatly attached to the duchess of Austria, and refused to set him at liberty, unless the lord of Boffu would give him certain dogs, which were supposed to be very good ones. Boffu would not part with his dogs; and the king, who had been fond of field sports, and perhaps imagined they would still be agreeable to him,

as he studied all methods, which might draw him out of his languishing condition, and as I may say, take him from himself, (for this happened towards the close of his life,) was no less positive, and said he would not release the prisoner. One would have imagined, that the dispute had been about a matter of the utmost importance. At last however Bossu consented to give up his dogs, to procure Poulhain his liberty. But the king displeased, that they shewed him at first so little complaisance, refused to accept of them, and would not let Poulhain be released, so that he was kept a prisoner till the year following.

After having faithfully related the history of Lewis XI. it might seem useless to draw his character, as it cannot but be known from his actions. We have farther seen several particulars of his private life; so that the reader is actually in a condition to pass judgment upon him. I cannot however excuse myself from examining the notion that is commonly formed of him; and at the same time I shall attempt to give that, which seems to me to follow from the facts above recited, without any regard to the received opinions, which ought never to prescribe against the truth.

Lewis XI. is generally looked upon as a great politician, and as very insincere; qualities which are often confounded, tho' very different. He is represented as a cruel prince, a bad son, a bad father, tyrannical towards his subjects, and treacherous to his enemies. Others who cast the same reproaches upon him, think to find an excuse for him by making a difference between the qualities of a prince, and those of a private person; as if the principles of morality were not the same with all mankind. I shall now discuss these different points.

I shall not be afraid to say, that Lewis XI. was not always so great a politician as is supposed. If by
politician.

politician we mean a man who does nothing without design, Lewis was a great politician ; but if by this term we mean a man, who doing every thing with design takes also the justest measures, we have many exceptions to make to his conduct.

The changes he made in the ministry upon his coming to the crown, by turning out the old officers of his father, brought on the war for the publick good. He suffered himself to be imposed on by pope Pius II. in the abolition of the Pragmatick Sanction. He took a great many imprudent steps.

The adventure of Péronne cannot be excused. He wanted to match the dauphin with Mary of Burgundy, and neglected the marriage with Anne of Britany. He failed in several enterprizes, and some important negotiations ; policy is never justified but by the success ; 'tis in general the art of bringing on events ; and thus, though we must place this prince in the class of politicians, we may say that he was less able in preventing a fault, than in repairing it.

It would be difficult to excuse him always from the charge of insincerity. We have seen him make opposite treaties at the same time, in order to provide himself with remedies to elude those which were contrary to his interests. 'Tis true indeed, that his enemies acted in the same manner ; but their being equally guilty will not justify him. The princes of that age studied only how to impose upon each other ; the attempts of those, who did not succeed, are buried in oblivion ; whereas the successes of Lewis XI. made him be looked on as the most artful, though frequently he was only the most able. If less complaint has been made against the others, it is only that as they had otherwise no great talents, a less attention was given to their vices.

The

The behaviour of Lewis XI. towards his father was extremely faulty, without being of any advantage to himself. The heir of the crown was a wanderer and a fugitive, at a time when he ought to have served his father against their common enemy, and secured a throne, which was one day to be his own.

But if Lewis was an ungrateful son, I do not see, that we can justly charge him with having been a bad father. He was so concerned at the death of his eldest son Joachim, that he made a vow never to converse with any other woman but the queen, and it is said, that he kept his vow. He had six children by Charlotte of Savoy, whereof three Joachim, Louisa, and Francis, dyed before him; Charles, Anne, and Jane survived him. We have seen what care he took of his natural daughters. The marriages of his two legitimate daughters do equally shew a good father, and a wise prince.

Lewis foreseeing that he should die before the majority of his son, was careful to take such measures, as might render his minority free from troubles. He married the princess Jane to the duke of Orleans the first prince of the blood, who by her virtues might oppose herself against the attempts of her husband. In short, the revolt of this prince would have been more dangerous than it was, if it had been seconded by an ambitious princess. It cannot but be owned, that though Lewis XII. was a good king, he had not been a faithful subject. There was therefore as much justice, as greatness of soul, in that beautiful expression he afterwards used; *a king of France does not revenge the injuries of the duke of Orleans.* Lewis finding in his eldest daughter a masculine mind and fit for government, married her to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, and committed the guardianship of Charles VIII. to them both, a disposition the more discreet, as the
lord

lord of Beaujeu * was too remote from the crown to lay claim to it; but was interested by his birth to support it, as he could gain nothing, and might lose every thing by the death of Charles VIII.

Lewis XI. always expressed great tenderness for the dauphin. He had him brought up at Amboise, and for fear that too great an affluence of people should spoil the purity of the air, he forbade the holding of either fair or market there. I will not deny but the suspicious disposition of Lewis might have a great share in the precaution he took to hinder frequent approach to the dauphin, but he was no less careful of his preservation, and was sensible that the tranquillity of the state depended upon it. The popular report that Charles was a † suppositious child even proves how fearful Lewis was to lose him. However, the dauphin's education was too much neglected. His highness's ill state of health did not allow him to be fatigued with studies, which are rather consecrated by custom, than by any fixed usefulness; and yet though princes are rather formed to patronise letters than apply to them, they should notwithstanding have some degree of learning, that they may be able to patronise them with judgment. Lewis XI. perhaps was fearful lest by enlarging the understanding of his son he should make him less tractable. It was not till towards the close of his life,

* The branch of Bourbon was younger than that of Orleans, Angoulême, Anjou, Burgundy, and Alençon.

† Some said, that Charles VIII. was the king's son, but not by the queen. Those who have mentioned this pretended supposition of Charles VIII. such as Haillan and Mathieu, agree that it was no more than a popular tradition. 'Tis also mentioned in a manuscript of the Coislinian library, no. 2199 intituled, *Remarques & particularités d'histoire*. The author says, that he took his account from the trial concerning the death of Peter Landais, which is among the papers of the family of Bourbon.

life, that he had him taught certain maxims proper for government.

Lewis XI. is charged with having been vexatious to his subjects. This article deserves to be examined. It must be owned, that he laid more * taxes upon them than his predecessors. The question then is how they were employed. His majesty was always very averse to pomp; his oeconomy was sometimes too singular not to be † affected. His greatest expence was in hunting, of which he was fond to a great degree of jealousy. His severity in this particular did not a little contribute to alienate from him the minds of the gentry, and occasioned the speech, which was then made, that it was more dangerous to kill a stag, than a man.

His other pleasures cannot have cost him much. After he came to the throne, he had no mistress whom he owned. And though it were true, as some pretended, that he had women sometimes brought to him, such as Huguette de Jacquelin, la Passelion, Jane Baillette, Perette de Châlons and others; accidental transgressions of this kind in a prince are less dangerous to a state, than if he suffered himself to be enslaved by a mistress. Lewis was never governed by the women; and thus they were never the object of his expences; but he spent prodigious sums in devotions, at a time when his household was ill paid, and the country was desolate through the exactions of the collectors of the taxes. He became profuse upon very trifling occasions, without considering that princes cannot give but at the people's expence. He proportioned his presents less to the services that were done him, than to the passion that then prevailed

* The taxes under Charles VIII. amounted to eighteen hundred thousand livres; Lewis XI. carried them to three millions seven hundred thousand livres.

† In the accounts of his household we find an article of 15 sols for two new sleeves.

vailed with him; though to excite emulation, the gifts of princes should prevent a demand, sometimes even go before an expectation, and always exceed the merit.

The principal object of Lewis XIth's expences was the state, whereof the charges were considerably augmented. His majesty kept up necessary armies, fortified or rebuilt towns, settled manufactures, made rivers navigable, built edifices, and gained his enemies by money, to spare the blood of his subjects. There were but two battles fought in his reign, that of Monlhery, and that of Guinegate. And yet he gained more conquests by his policy, than other kings do by arms. He enlarged the kingdom by adding to it the county of Roussillon, the two Burgundies, Artois, Picardie, Provence, Anjou, and Maine. He reduced the house of Armagnac, divided that of Foix, humbled the great men, restrained their outrages, and concluded with making a glorious peace; leaving at his death an army of 60,000 men in good condition, a train of artillery compleat, and all the strong places fortified, and furnished with provisions.

In this portrait of the life of Lewis XI. we see nothing to deserve the satires that were cast upon him. Whence then could they arise? The reason seems to be this.

Lewis, to restore order, government, and justice in the kingdom, was obliged to make the great men return to their duty. 'Tis true, that in opposing the usurpations and tyranny of private persons, he carried the royal authority very far. There passed, as we may say, a revolution in the government. His majesty seemed to pave himself a way to arbitrary power; which made it be said, by an expression which though popular was no less just, that *Lewis had made kings to be their own men*; the people, however, at least, were no longer slaves to the great *men*, and the latter spread the libels against his majesty.

jeſty. The duke of Alençon, notwithstanding all his crimes, found an apologiſt, who contrived no other way of juſtifying him, than by breaking out into invectives againſt Lewis XI. Thomas Bazin, whom Lewis had drawn from obſcurity, and advanced to the biſhoprick of Liſieux, and loaded with benefits, betrayed the confidence of his majeſty, entered into all the cabals againſt him, and at laſt quitted the kingdom to join with the enemies of the ſtate. He wrote a ſhort hiſtory, wherein he viſibly diſplays the hatred, which ungrateful men conſtantly take up againſt their benefactors.

The effects of paſſion are no leſs diſcernible in Amelgardus canon of Liege.

Claude Seiffel, biſhop of Marſeilles, wrote the apology of Lewis XII. with no other view than to flatter the hatred, which that prince bore to Lewis XI. This piece is no more than a ſatire filled with malicious interpretations and falſe allegations. Seiffel ſays himſelf, that the judgment of the * publick was different from his own. We ſee at leaſt that the people thought themſelves happy in living under his reign, whiſt the great men treated him as a tyrant for not ſuffering them to be ſo.

It is extraordinary that thoſe who have ſince wrote or given judgment concerning Lewis XI. have rather followed the authors above-mentioned than Philip de Commines, whom yet they acknowledge to be the beſt informed and moſt judicious writer of them all. I would not, however, abſolutely adopt the judgment of Commines concerning Lewis

** Several perſons, ſays Seiffel, who lived in his time, ſpeak inceſſantly of him; and commend him to the ſkies, ſaying, that he was the wiſeſt, moſt powerful, moſt liberal, moſt valiant, and moſt fortunate prince, that ever was in France. Theſe compliments are as much overſtrained, as the ſatyrs were extravagant.*

Lewis XI. The encomiums he gives him seem a little too full of the resentment he bore towards the duke of Burgundy, and Charles VIII.

The principal error mankind are apt to fall into, in drawing the portrait of others, is to suppose that they have a fixed character, whereas human life is but a contexture of contrarieties; the more narrowly we look into it, the less capable it is of being defined. I have related several actions of Lewis XI. which do not seem to belong to the same character. I do not pretend either to reconcile them, or make them capable of affording consequences. The attempt would even be dangerous; as this would be to advance a system, than which nothing would be more contrary to history, nor consequently to truth. I have represented Lewis XI. as devout and superstitious, covetous and profuse, enterprising and fearful, mild and severe, faithful and perjured; such in short as I found him upon different occasions.

There are notwithstanding certain prevailing dispositions, which fix a character. That of Lewis XI. was to refer all to the royal authority. Whatever design he formed, whatever part he took, he never forgot that he was a king; even in his friendships, he always placed a distance betwixt himself and his subjects. It was his favourite maxim, *That he who knew not how to dissemble, knew not how to reign. If my hat, he would say, knew my secret, I would burn it.* Lewis might lose the fruit of this maxim by repeating it too frequently. Diffimulation is never of greater use, than when a man is not suspected of it. Lewis XI. might have drawn more advantage from it, if he had affected less the reputation of it. John of Arragon advised his son Ferdinand in a letter not to enter into a conference with Lewis; For know you not, says he, that the moment you negotiate with him, you are conquered? His diffimulation sometimes degenerated into falsehood, from which it
is

is divided by a very thin partition ; he too often introduced into policy the artifice, which seldom supplies its place, and always debases it.

Lewis had a stout heart and a fearful mind. He was provident, but restless ; more affable than confiding ; and rather chose to make allies than friends. As he seldom shewed more resentment for injuries, than gratitude for services, he punished or rewarded as his interest led him. When he resolved to punish, he did it with the utmost severity, as the example was to be the principal object of the correction. This prince's severity towards the close of his life was converted into cruelty ; he grew suspicious upon very slight grounds, and the person suspected immediately became criminal. He had iron-cages made to hold his prisoners, with enormous chains, which were called the *king's cords*. It is said, that when any person accused was put to the question, he would stand behind a screen to hear the interrogatories. Nothing but gibbets were to be seen around his castle, and the places where he resided were only to be distinguished by these frightful marks.

Several writers speak of a great many executions, which were done in private by the provost Tristan l'Hermite, whom he called his compeer. This cruel man was not contented with obeying his master, but executed his orders with a barbarous zeal. Lewis XI. may well be reproached for the favour and familiarity, wherewith he honoured* this minister of his vengeance, whom he should have
looked

* I think it not worth while to recite the ridiculous stories told of Tristin, such as his putting a certain prior to death, whom he mistook for another ; or to mention the monstrous mixture of cruelty and superstition charged upon Lewis XI. who is said to have asked leave of the virgin to put a particular person to death. These vulgar stories do not so much as deserve a confutation.

looked upon only as the necessary instrument of his justice.

When Lewis XI. is blamed for employing persons of low birth in his service rather than such as by their extraction might seem to have a greater interest in the welfare of the state; the censurers do not enough consider, that as one of his majesty's principal designs was to lessen the power of the great men, it would have been inconsistent with his scheme to have deposited his authority in their hands. And yet he employed a great many of them, and seldom made use of obscure persons, but when they were necessary to him, and upon occasions, where he might disavow them; but one fault he did indeed commit in the choice of his agents. As he seldom employed the same person in several affairs, his ministers wanted experience, which is sometimes preferable to capacity.

Lewis, who was always diffident and frequently mistrusted, was fearful in his designs, irresolute in his projects, unsettled in affairs, but intrepid in danger. Courage was natural to him, and he kept himself cool in the midst of perils. He could look death in the face, and feared the consequences of a battle, only for the state. When his majesty was obliged to march with the duke of Burgundy against the Liégeois, the Burgundians could not but observe with indignation how much the impetuous courage of their prince was outshone by the calm intrepidity of Lewis XI. Francis II. duke of Britany was the only person, who not being able to disown the prudence of Lewis XI. took upon him to question his valour, by calling him in derision *the coward king*. 'Tis thus that hatred seeks to confound the virtues of an enemy, with the vices which seem to have some outward resemblance of them.

Lewis did not begin to fear death, until his health was decayed. He was then seized with a black melancholy,

lancholy, which presented only the most frightful images to his view. His soul and body grew weak together.

As to the devotion of Lewis XI. it was in general sincere, tho' oft made use of as a cloak to cover his designs. Devotion was the language of his age. Without being false, it was frequently joined to very depraved morals. 'Twas more common than in our days, but less bright and less pure. Lewis had more devotion than true religion and solid piety. He frequently fell into superstition, * seldom into hypocrisy.

Lewis was a lover and patron of learning, and himself a scholar. He founded the universities of Valence and Bourges. John Bouchet, author of the annals of Aquitaine, says of him, *that he had more acquired knowledge both in law and history, than the kings of France usually had. Gaguin says, Callebat litteras, & suprâ quàm regibus mos erat, eruditus.*

Commynes confirms these testimonies. *Lewis, says he, had a very different education from all the lords that I have seen in this kingdom, as they are only brought up to play the fool both in dress and discourse, without the least knowledge of letters.* Commynes farther

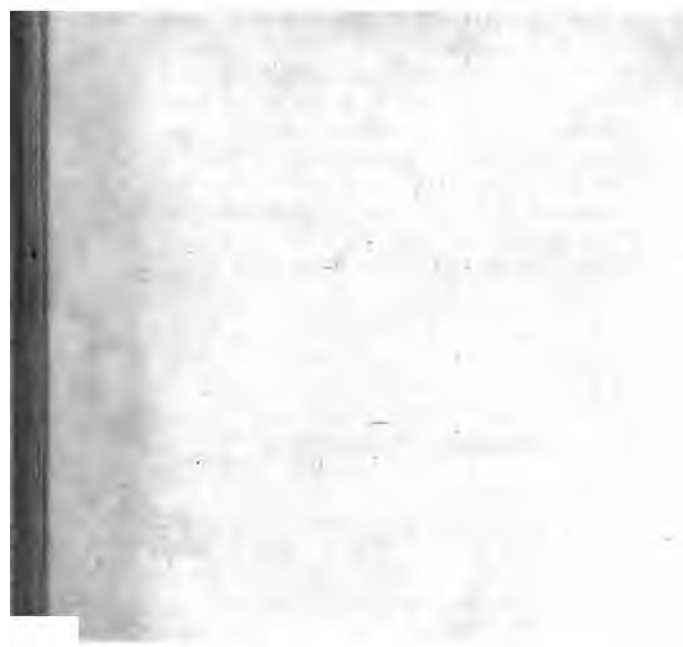
* 'Tis said that Lewis one day ordering a prayer to be said to S. Eutropius which contained a petition for the health both of soul and body, he bad the priest who was to say it to omit the words relating to the soul, for it would be enough for the saint to grant him bodily health, without importuning him about so many things. The like disposition we find in a letter which his majesty wrote to Peter Cadouet, the prior of Nôtre-Dame de Salles at Bourges; *Master Peter, my good friend, I earnestly intreat you to pray for me incessantly to God and our Lady of Salles, that they would be pleased to send me a quartan fever; for I have got an illness, which my physicians tell me, I can never be cured of, till I have one; and when I have got it, I will let you know immediately.* LOUIS.

ther gives an high encomium of his majesty, in saying, *that he loved to enquire into and understand every thing; he had words at command, and exceeding good natural sense; a talent far more valuable than the sciences, and without which they are of no use.*

I apprehend myself to have given the juster representation of Lewis XI. as I have had nothing else but truth in my view. I have followed no system. I have thought it no contradiction or retraction to commend him for one action, and the next moment blame him for another. A perfect prince is a beautiful chimera, which may find a place in a panyrick, but has never existed in history. Lewis XI. was far from being a prince without reproach; few princes have deserved severer censures; but we may venture to say of him, that he was equally distinguished by his vices and his virtues, and that after all has been weighed in the balance, he was a *King*.

The end of the Second Volume.





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